MEANING IN THE ALLEGORIES PAINTED BY MANTEGNA FOR ISABELLA D'ESTE : A STUDY IN THE CONTEXT OF GONZAGA PATRONAGE AND MANTEGNA'S CAREER

Gordon Marshall Beamish

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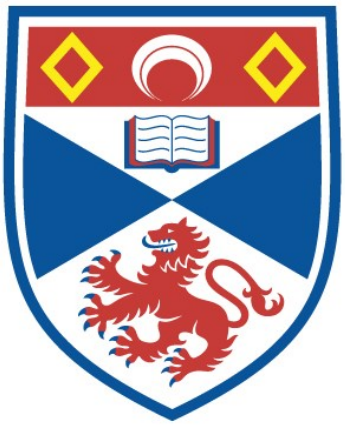

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MEANING IN THE ALLEGORIES PAINTED BY MANTEGNA FOR ISABELLA D'ESTE. A STUDY IN THE CONTEXT OF GONZAGA PATRONAGE AND MANTEGNA'S CAREER.

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DEGREE OF MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY.

DEPARTMENT OF ART-HISTORY.

UNIVERSITY OF ST.ANDREWS.

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B.C.Mn.:Biblioteca Comunale di Mantova.

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Abstract.

This Thesis attempts to demonstrate that the themes behind Andrea Mantegna's Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue drew mainly upon the more arcane aspects of astrology and the cosmos that were dealt with by Marsilio Ficino and by Pico della Mirandola,and which were incorporated into the *invenzione* drawn up by Paride da Ceresara for the paintings.The examination of the relevant passages from Ficino's translations and editions of the Corpus Hermeticum and of the Asclepius,and from Pico della Mirandola's *Conclusiones Magicae* and *Conclusiones Cabalisticae* indicates that Mantegna has depicted two symbolic worlds and that the enlightened soul passes from the lower earthly state shown in The Triumph of Virtue to the higher Ogdoadic state presented in the Parnassus.

For the *invenzioni*,Paride da Ceresara grafted the main Hermetic-Cabbalistic theme with congenial literary sources,both contemporary and from the Antique.It is especially the case that aspects of Ciceronian rhetoric played a crucial rôle in reconciling and satisfying the strategic and inventorist tendencies in Isabella d'Este's thought.Thus it was that the paintings were meant to be read conjointly as a fluent visual essay in Hermetic-Cabbalistic teaching,clothed in an *all'antica* guise.

Throughout this Thesis the approach has been that of an examination of the states of mind of Mantegna,of his Gonzaga patrons and especially that of Isabella d'Este.A comprehensive selection of primary documents has been important in this matter.The Parnassus and The Triumph of

Virtue are the result of the mental approach of Mantegna,Paride da Ceresara and Isabella d'Este,with Mantegna displaying his skill and experience in portraying conflated ideas through visual compositions of gestural subtlety using motifs of authentic Antique origin.

Introduction.

The research for this Thesis was initially provoked by a reading of Walter Benjamin's essay, **The Task of the Translator**,a fluent and compelling account of the problems of retaining the authentic sense and essence of literary motifs when translating written works into languages other than that which was the original author's native tongue.In a sense,this Thesis is an account of the efforts of translators;those who were concerned with literary translations and one who was consummately skilful at translating motifs and themes from words into visual images.

The work of research was begun at a most interesting and exciting time for the discipline of Art-History.The influence of certain authors involved in the philosophy of science had for some time been modifying the approach of British and American art-historians to the issues of evidence,hypothesis and proof.The long domination of the German *Kulturwissenschaft* school of Art-History was at last waning and the single most important consequence of this event was the way in which a standpoint was taken or arrived at with regard to the available evidence.

This Thesis is a witness to the nature of that change. Evidence,of whatever sort,cannot "speak for itself". It cannot be assessed *in vacuo* but is necessarily and inevitably assayed by scholars in the light of the intellectual priorities of their own time. In view of this fact,the question of the demonstrable historical relevance of the **Parnassus** and **The Triumph of**

Virtue was approached by way of an assessment of the states of mind (or ascertainable mental habits of perception) of the protagonists involved in the genesis and creation of the paintings.This approach should provide a valuable insight into the nature and function of the Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue while,it is hoped,retaining a perceptive awareness of the approaches of other scholars (both past and contemporary) to this topic.

The Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue,in common with all works of art created at some time in the distant past,are irreplacable and precious witnesses to the mode of thinking and aesthetic experience of a former age.Their great value and their potential vulnerability have necessitated their removal to a location which is secure,weatherproof and environmentally stable.Thus,after a number of vicissitudes,the Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue may be scrutinized and admired in the Musée du Louvre in Paris rather in the way in which setting-boards of tropical butterflies or the pelts of big cats are when encountered in public and private collections.

This analogy is deliberate and apt because,excised as they have been from their original and intended location,the Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue represent the surface-skin of a complex cultural anatomy that is termed the Early Renaissance.However much we may admire the beauty of the paintings and recognize that they have a distinct stylistic identity,without delving deeper into the cultural world which created them any

appreciation of the nature and function of these paintings will remain superficial and unauthentic.

If the Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue may be seen as having had a fate similar to the pelts of tigers or leopards then it is appropriate to extend the metaphor by seeing the thoughts,actions and ideals of Andrea Mantegna,his Gonzaga patrons and the endeavours and achievements of the Humanists as the skeleton, musculature,nervous system and viscera of the Renaissance cultural anatomy which must be dissected and examined so that this "anatomy" which lies beneath the cultural "skin" of the paintings may be authentically understood and comprehended.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that there is every sign that a "Mantegna Industry" is rapidly growing and taking shape in much the same way as happened in the past with Michelangelo and Leonardo.This occurrence has inevitably had its good and bad aspects.However,the main consequence has been that the greatest master of the fifteenth-century Lombard school looms much larger in the perception of the art-viewing public than was formerly the case.The recent exhibition (1992) held at the Royal Academy of Arts in London will have done much to ensure this.It is the same in the case of professional art-historians and scholars.Therefore,it is probable that important monographs will appear which should deepen and improve the perception of Mantegna's art that is currently held.

The main lesson gained from the lengthy research undertaken for this Thesis has been that Mantegna is far

more difficult to classify or define as an artist than is apparently the case.Any attempt to pigeon-hole Mantegna as merely the master of Albertian/Brunelleschian formal perspective,the supreme antiquarian,or as the consummate conflator of literary themes in visual terms must inevitably present a lop-sided and tendentious view of the artist.All these properties were exercised together by Mantegna throughout his long career.The true exercise of assessment in this regard lies in ascertaining to what degree each of these properties are manifest in each of his surviving works,which witness Mantegna's endeavours to meet the demands of his patrons.The succeeding pages of this Thesis aim to perform that task with a study of Mantegna's stylistic development as seen in general in his major works (chapter 2) and in particular as seen in the **Parnassus** and in **The Triumph of Virtue** (chapter 3).

CHAPTER 1.
THE GONZAGA:THEIR STRATEGY,PATRONAGE AND STATE OF MIND.

Three generations of the Gonzaga employed Andrea Mantegna as court artist.One wishes to establish what sort of "intellectual eye" it was that saw Mantegna's paintings and frescoes,and the source-material behind them. This chapter will begin with a brief introductory history of the Gonzaga,then a survey of their strategy as *condottieri*,their patronage and finally an examination and assessment of their particular state of mind. A selection of primary documentary material will be referred to.This material consists largely of letters and inventories.Thus one may have as intimate an insight as possible into the everyday mental habits of the Gonzaga.

(a). *Introductory history of the Gonzaga.*

The Gonzaga took the name by which they are best known from a town in their territory,situated about six-and-half kilometres south-east of Suzzara and very near to the modern southern border of the Province of Mantua with that of Reggio Emilia.Their real name was Corradi.[1] In theory,the position of the Gonzaga was not auspicious;the territory they held was not much larger than the County of Surrey in southern England,their basic estate revenues during the fifteenth century were about 50,000 ducats.This amount was barely one-tenth of that of the Visconti (and Sforza) of Milan and one-eighteenth of that enjoyed by the Doge of Venice.[2] However,by virtue of

their geographical position,sandwiched between Milan (to the west) and the Venetian territories (to the east),the Gonzaga were able to exploit their situation as holders of the balance of power between these two great and traditionally antagonistic powers.There could be no question of any marked expansion of territory:the object was clear,realistic and astute;the maintenance of Mantuan territorial integrity.From the time of the first *Capitano* of Mantua,Luigi Gonzaga (b.1268-d.1360) to the sacking of the city by the Austrians in 1629,this aim was achieved.[3]

It was Luigi Gonzaga who established the fortunes of the Gonzaga.[4] On 16 August 1328,with the aid of troops provided by Can Grande della Scala of Verona,Luigi (with his sons) wrested power from the Bonacolsi.[5] His forces entered Mantua and were victorious after a fierce battle in the Piazza San Pietro (near the Via San Giorgio and not far from the Castello di San Giorgio) during which Rinaldo ("Passerino") Bonacolsi was killed.[6] Thus ended the struggles and disputes for power that had taken place between the Gonzaga ,the Bonacolsi,the Andreasi and the Arlotti.[7] The victory gained in the Piazza San Pietro was consolidated by Luigi's oath of fealty to the Mantuans later that same August.[8] The following year the Emperor Louis of Bavaria recognized Luigi Gonzaga as Imperial Vicar.[9]

Luigi was succeeded by his son,Guido,who ruled Mantua from 1360 as the second *Capitano* until his death in 1369.[10] Between and 1407 there would be three further *Capitanos* of Mantua;Lodovico I (b.1334-d.1382),Francesco I (b.1366-d.1407) and Gianfrancesco (b.1395-d.1444).After

the death of Francesco I and until the death of Francesco II in 1519 Mantua would be governed by *Marchese*.On 20 March 1407 Gianfrancesco Gonzaga was formally recognized as ruler of Mantua.[11] In 1433 he was elevated from *Capitano* to *Marchese* of Mantua by the Emperor Sigismondo.[12] In the Piazza San Pietro on 22 September,Sigismondo himself conferred the title in what was a most impressive ceremony.Impressive,also,was the fee paid for the title:not less than 12,000 florins.[13] However,most saw (rightly) the occasion as marking a significant increase in Gonzaga influence and esteem.It was also the beginning of the intimate involvement of the Gonzaga in dynastic affairs outside of the Italian Peninsula.This involvement was marked not least by the betrothal of Gianfrancesco's eldest son,Lodovico (b.1412-d.1478) to Sigismondo's neice,Barbara of Brandenburg (b.1422-d.1481).[14] Lodovico's eldest son,the short-reigning Federico (b.1441-d.1484) was married to Margherita of Bavaria (b.1445-d.1479).The marriage was ratified at Mantua on 7 September 1462 and celebrated there on 6 June 1463.[15] Federico's eldest son,Francesco (b.1466-d.1519),broke the dynastic trend of taking a German wife by marrying Isabella d'Este (b.1474-d.1539).[16] His marriage to Isabella was celebrated at Mantua on 15 February 1490.[17] The Gonzaga had thus secured a connection with a noble household whose lineage rivalled that of the Visconti.

(b). *The Gonzaga as Strategists.*

It was Gianfrancesco Gonzaga who started the family tradition of professional military service.[18] In 1416 he was in action alongside Pandolfo Malatesta against Braccio da Montone,one of the most famous *condottieri* of the time,in order to aid Carlo Malatesta who had been captured at Perugia.[19] Gianfrancesco was wounded in the thigh at Rocca Contrada (in the Province of Ancona) but this mishap did not dampen his enthusiasm for military action.[20] The connection with the Malatesta and with Venice strengthened the position of Mantua through Gianfrancesco's now enhanced military reputation.

The Gonzaga policy of exploiting their geographical position in order to pursue a neutral (and profitable) path with their neighbours began in 1421 with Gianfrancesco's acceptance of service as *condottiere* under the banner of Filippo Maria Visconti.[21] The situation suited Gianfrancesco well as the Visconti and the Venetians were,for once,acting in alliance.[22] There was no question of offending the Venetian Senate.However,by 1425 the Visconti and the Venetians had become much cooler in their relations with each other largely because of the defection of Carmagnola from the Venetian camp.[23] On 3 December Gianfrancesco joined a Florentine-Venetian league against the Visconti.[24] His hopes of a westward expansion of Mantuan territory as a result of this move were realized in 1428 with the acquisition of Asola, Remedello, Casalnovo, Casalpoglio,

Casaloldo, Castelnovo and Volongo (with a palace in Venice itself,in San Pantaleone,on the Grand Canal).[25] The Venetians placed Gianfrancesco Gonzaga in command of their forces in place of Carmagnola and his fortunes prospered further with the acquisition of Lonato, Castiglione delle Stiviere, Solferino, Castelgoffredo, Redondesco, Canneto, Sabbioneta, Ostiano and Vescovato,in June 1431.[26]

In 1433 Gianfrancesco was elevated to *Marchese* by the Emperor Sigismondo.[27] He was now at the height of his prosperity.However,Gianfrancesco evidently had delusions of grandeur.He believed that a further expansion of Mantuan territory westwards was impossible,therefore Gianfrancesco chose to expand eastwards into the Veneto by taking the cities of Verona and Vicenza from Venice with the help of Filippo Maria Visconti.[28] The result of this action was a series of expensive setbacks for Gianfrancesco.Military reversals,and hesitations on the part of Filippo Maria Visconti,meant the loss of some of Gianfrancesco's recent acquisitions.Besides Canneto being lost,Asola and Lonato rebelled against Gonzaga rule in 1440.[29] While this was happening the Venetian forces under the command of Francesco Sforza occupied Marcaria,Cavriana and Peschiera.[30] In the peace treaty of 1441 these towns remained lost from Mantua to the Venetians and Gianfrancesco was obliged in addition to pay 4,000 gold ducats to the Venetian Senate.[31] Three years later,in September 1444,Gianfrancesco died.

It would be correct to say that Gianfrancesco Gonzaga's real strategic position was undermined

following the death of Carlo Malatesta in September 1429.[32] Without Carlo's military and political astuteness,and mollified by his elevation to *Marchese*,Gianfrancesco had deluded himself into believing that he could not only exploit the balance of power that existed between Milan and Venice but also could achieve power and influence on a similar scale to that exercised by the Visconti and the Venetians.[33] Neutrality was wise,aggrandisement foolish.The latter policy would not be followed by his successor who determinedly and shrewdly pursued the former.

Lodovico II Gonzaga reigned as *Marchese* of Mantua from 1444 to 1478.[34] However,it is the years 1444-54 that are the most important for any assessment of Gonzaga strategy and diplomacy.The remaining twenty-four years of his reign were ones of relative peace and stability,giving Lodovico time to exercise the patronage of the arts and letters for which he was famous in his own day and has been ever since.[35] It is not,indeed,true to say that Lodovico might not have commissioned any artistic works of importance in the earlier years:the fresco-cycle by Pisanello is the obvious possibility here.[36] Nevertheless,it remains the case that the first eleven years of Lodovico's reign as *Marchese* were dominated by the urgent issues of maintaining the independence of the Mantovano,consolidating Mantua's influence and earning a satisfactory income from the duties of being a *condottiere*.[37]

The background to Lodovico's manoeuverings was the dynastic struggle for the succession to the Duchy of

Milan.[38] The ten years following Lodovico's accession to the Marchesate of Mantua in 1444 saw a situation that was politically and militarily dangerously unstable.[39] The continual war between Milan and Venice was exacerbated by the death of the last Visconti Duke,Filippo Maria,without heir,on 13 August 1447.The matter was resolved somewhat when Francesco Sforza (b.1401-d.1466) seized the Duchy of Milan in 1450.[40] One can gain a good idea of the urgency of the situation for Mantua when it is recalled that Lodovico changed sides not less than five times in the five years between 1445 and 1450.He signed *condotte* with all of the major powers in the Italian Peninsula:Milan (1445),Florence (1447),Venice (1448),Naples (1449) and once again with Milan,albeit with Francesco Sforza (1450).[41]

Lodovico sensed the military,political and diplomatic terrain well during the decade 1444-54.Filippo Maria Visconti had needed Lodovico's help against Francesco Sforza between the years 1444 and 1446 as he feared Sforza's power which had grown as a result of the Peace of Perugia (October 1444) struck between Francesco Sforza and the Pope.[42] This Peace gave *de jure* recognition of those parts of The Marches which Sforza had recently conquered. Accordingly,Filippo Maria had aligned himself with the Pope and Alfonso of Aragon so that he could capture some of Sforza's newly-gained territory.[43] During the hostilities which followed, between the winter of 1444 and November 1446,Filippo Maria had hoped to take Cremona and Pontremoli (given to Francesco Sforza as part of Bianca Maria Visconti's dowry when she was married to

Sforza in 1441) from Francesco Sforza.The intervention of Florence and Venice in aid to Sforza put an end to such hopes.[44]

Lodovico II Gonzaga had accepted a seven-year *condotta* when it was offered to him by Francesco Piccinino on behalf of Filippo Maria Visconti on 25 September 1445 (not long after his investment as *Marchese* of Mantua by Emperor Frederick III on 27 August of that year).[45] The reason for Lodovico's *condotta* with Filippo Maria Visconti was straightforward enough:he wished to secure his hold on some land which was near to the Cremonese territory and that would serve as a sort of buffer-zone for the the Mantovano to the west.However,the Visconti were defeated at Casalmaggiore on 27 September 1445 by the Venetians,who were determined to bring the Cremonese lands under their *aegis*.The resulting stalemate between Milan and Venice caused Francesco Sforza and Filippo Maria Visconti to conclude a peace on 10 November 1446.[46] This matter convinced Lodovico Gonzaga that his attentions might be better-directed towards Venice which was offering Lodovico a part in the Venetian-Florentine league against Visconti. As a result of negotiations, Lodovico was accepted as Captain-General of the Florentine contingent on 18 January 1447.[47] Twelve days later Lodovico was awarded a stipend by the Venetians which was effective for one year.On 18 January 1448 the *condotta* was further re-confirmed with Lodovico being given the command of 400 lance and 300 infantry.[48]

The death of Filippo Maria Visconti and the consequent end of the direct male line resulted in the

setting-up of the so-called Ambrosian Republic in Milan.[49] At this point the plot began to thicken somewhat as the new Milanese republic sought the aid of Francesco Sforza and Lodovico II Gonzaga's younger brother,and rival to the succession at Mantua,Carlo (b.1417-d.1456).[50] The latter had been promised,in an agreement struck between him and the Senate of the Ambrosian Republic on 24 June 1448,the possession of Asola,Lonato and Peschiera if Carlo succeeded in taking them.The final possession of these towns was subject to Francesco Sforza's approval.[51]

The Venetian response to Filippo Maria Visconti's death had been to seize Lodi and Piacenza,in 1447.However,Lodovico remained in allegiance to the Venetian-Florentine League in spite of the fact that these towns were fairly close to Mantua.[52] On 25 May 1448 a further 100 lance and 100 infantry were added to those already under Lodovico's command.[53] Some idea of the regard in which Lodovico was held can be gained from the promise of the Doge,Francesco Foscari,that Venice was prepared to pay him for another 200 lance before meeting stipends for the Florentines.[54]

Francesco Sforza had been commander of Filippo Maria's forces,therefore the Milanese were happy to accept Sforza in the same role on behalf of the Ambrosian Republic.Sforza himself had other ideas:the seizing of Milan and the destruction of the Ambrosian Republic.[55] He would not be content with complying with the conditions already agreed upon between the Ambrosian Republic and the Venetians whereby the old Viscontean Dukedom was to

be a tripartite entity.[56] The Ambrosian Republic would comprise the area bounded by the rivers Ticino,Po and Adda.The remainder would be divided between Sforza and the Venetians.[57] Francesco Sforza's response to this agreement was to launch a fierce and resolute military campaign against the Ambrosian Republic and the Venetians.The main consequence of this offensive was the decisive defeat of the Venetian forces at Caravaggio on 14 August 1448.[58] Lodovico Gonzaga,after fighting heroically in the thick of the battle,was forced to flee with the remnants of his command.It was small comfort to Lodovico that he had been the only commander to advise against action.Sforza then turned towards Brescia,where a peace was agreed with the Venetians by which Francesco Sforza would cede land lost by them during the recent conflict,but only on condition that they helped Sforza become ruler of Milan.[59]

Carlo Gonzaga was less fortunate than Lodovico.After having retreated to Milan he was proclaimed *Capitano del Populo* by the Ambrosian Republic.[60] However,Carlo's hopes of receiving help from Lodovico were ill-founded.Lodovico had entered into a *condotta* with Alfonso of Aragon,the King of Naples.This *condotta* gave Lodovico the command of 900 lance and 900 infantry plus a stipend of 45,000 gold florins.Alfonso had also nominated Lodovico as his *procuratore* in Lombardy on 10 July 1449.[61] Lodovico was unwilling to take any risks and Carlo was compelled to sue for peace with Francesco Sforza,who entered Milan on 27 February 1450 and was proclaimed Duke of Milan on 26 March of the same year.[62]

Lodovico Gonzaga was by now well aware of the power that Francesco Sforza commanded.Although he was still in the service of the Venetians,Lodovico was somewhat wary of Venetian power which could threaten the Mantovano.It was time to respond favourably to the overtures that Sforza had been making to Mantua,with the hope that they brought of Lodovico re-gaining Asola,Lonato and Peschiera.Thus it was that Lodovico ratified a *condotta* with Francesco Sforza between 1 and 6 November 1450.[63] Lodovico would in fact remain in allegiance to Milan for the rest of his life.The Venetian reaction to the Gonzaga-Sforza alliance was to withdraw their troops which had been deployed in a new campaign at Ponte Molino (Ostiglia),an action which was further provoked by an outbreak of the plague that was thought to have broken out at Mantua.[64] The sudden role of Mantua as one of the centres of anti-Venetian resistance was reinforced by the arrival of Bartolommeo Colleoni who wished to offer his services to Francesco Sforza following a sharp disagreement with the Venetian Signoria.[65]

The years 1451-54 saw further successes and problems for Lodovico II Gonzaga.Hostilities between Venice and Milan were resumed in the winter of 1451-52,and in spite of bad weather Lodovico's forces (together with units of Sforza's troops) entered Brescian territory and arrived at Pontevico.The Venetian forces,meanwhile,attacked and took Castiglione delle Stiviere which they sacked in January 1452.[66] It was soon after this that Lodovico's problems began with the defection of Carlo Gonzaga to the Venetians.[67] This action placed Lodovico in an

embarrassing position as he had guaranteed Carlo's fidelity to the Milanese cause.[68] Lodovico was compelled to pay 80,000 ducats as compensation to Francesco Sforza and to go in pursuit of Carlo who had penetrated the Mantovano and had occupied Castelbelforte and Bigarello.[69] Lodovico,from his camp at Ostiglia,launched an attack and forced Carlo to flee to Castel d'Ario from where Lodovico followed him toward Legnano and the Adige.The business was sealed by Lodovico inflicting a bloody defeat on Carlo at Villabona (near Goito) on 14 June 1453.[70] In spite of finding a sympathetic refuge at Ferrara,Carlo's fortunes were ruined and he died at Ferrara on 20 December 1456.[71]

Events now moved swiftly towards the settling of hostilities at the Peace of Lodi.Matters were complicated by the entry of Réné d'Anjou,the Pretender to the throne of Naples.Francesco Sforza had sought his aid in the campaign against the Venetians.[72] Réné arrived in Italy towards the end of 1453 with his forces which immediately joined those of Sforza.[73] The Venetians,for their part,were sufficiently discomfited by the Fall of Constantinople (24 May 1453),with all that it implied for their Eastern Mediterranean trade,to be receptive to offers of mediation by Pope Nicholas V.[74] However,they continued the military campaign against Milan and having occupied the Volta Mantovana at the end of 1453,Venetian forces under the command of Francesco Piccinino were ready to meet the reprisal attack on Asola by Sforza and Lodovico Gonzaga.This move by Milan and Mantua was

hindered by winter conditions and the delay in arrival of help from d'Anjou's troops.[75]

The final stage towards the settlement at Lodi was marked by further reversals inflicted on the Venetians by Francesco Sforza.The initial negotiations for peace between Mantua and Venice were difficult and inconclusive;Lodovico particularly pressed for the possession of Asola and Lonato.[76] Also,the mediation of Cardinal Giulio Cesarini (appointed as peace negotiator by Nicholas V) proved ineffectual.Nicholas had invited the contending parties to Rome in November 1453 but without results.The Pope was, however,successful in negotiating an agreement between Milan and Venice at Lodi on 9 April 1454.[77] Mantua followed suit quickly,albeit with Lodovico having to give up any ideas of gaining Asola,Lonato and Peschiera.[78] Bitter though this loss was for Mantua,the fragile Peace of Lodi held and Lodovico was content to remain outside the hot spots of future conflicts.[79] Thus it was that when in 1460 a new war threatened to break out over the claims of Jean d'Anjou to the throne of Naples (now occupied by Ferrante of Aragon),Lodovico declined to involve himself in any active military undertaking.[80] The excuse given was illness and Lodovico was not persuaded by the protests of Pope Pius II to reconsider the situation in spite of his having given an undertaking to serve as commander of the Papal contingent in the force that was to have opposed Jean d'Anjou.[81]

Lodovico Gonzaga lost no time in making efforts to reap the benefits of peace.He was determined to elevate

and consolidate Mantua's diplomatic position in the Italian Peninsula.Lodovico's marriage to Barbara of Brandenburg had given Mantua vital dynastic weapons in the tussle for diplomatic prestige and the gaining of influential and sympathetic ears.[82] Whatever comments have been made about Barbara's supposed physical shortcomings or to what extent the Gonzaga were worthy of such a dynastic match with one of the foremost families of German nobility,the connection paid off handsomely.[83] Lodovico's reward was to see Mantua play host to the Council summoned by Pius II to meet the Turkish menace and to achieve a Cardinal's hat for his second son,Francesco (b.1444-d.1483).[84]

The Fall of Constantinople was only the beginning of the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean.[85] The Turks would soon make permanent the relatively sporadic and tenuous hold that they had gained in south-eastern Europe by such battles as Kosovo (24 July 1389) and effectively bar the Eastern Mediterranean to Venetian (and other) ships.The raising of a force to thwart Turkish expansion into Europe had been one the first objectives of the adherent states of the Peace of Lodi (Milan,Venice,Florence,Rome and Naples) and Pius II was by 1458 anxious to give this objective concrete expression.[86] Barbara of Brandenburg was instrumental in bringing the Council to Mantua.She did not hesitate in exploiting the good relations that had existed between the Hapsburgs and the Electors of Brandenburg.Thus it was that Barbara had every reason for confidence when in November 1458 she requested her father,Margrave John,and

her two uncles,Elector Frederick and Margrave Albert,to persuade the Holy Roman Emperor,Frederick III,to select Mantua as the place where he would attend the Council with Pius II.[87] The Pope was convinced by the Höhenzollerns that as Mantua was a city sympathetic to things German,the Emperor would undoubtedly be present,with all it implied for the marshalling of resources for the crusade.[88]

Pius II entered Mantua on 27 May 1459 by way of the Porta Pradella and was received with great ceremony.[89] In the event Frederick III did not attend and in spite of the presence of an impressive array of ambassadors on behalf of Savoy, Venice, Austria, Brittany, Poland and France, as well as the Holy Roman Empire, the Council proved a delusion.[90] As Pius himself acknowledged, distance and political events were crucial obstacles to effective logistics.The complaints of Pius and the other delegates about the Mantuan climate,food and wine are well-known and Pius himself departed on 19 January 1460 in bad health and embittered at the lack of any positive commitment on most participants' part.[91] Nevertheless,for eight months Mantua had been placed on the map of European diplomacy and in the following year the Emperor Frederick III intervened decisively with Pius II and the College of Cardinals to secure a Cardinal's hat for Francesco Gonzaga.[92] One could be cynical about the economies of truth employed in the negotiations.However, Lodovico had every reason to be delighted with the outcome.He must have felt that the 25,000 Rhenish florins

that his father, Gianfrancesco,had paid for Barbara's hand in 1433 had been a thoroughly sound investment.[93]

The remaining seventeen years of Lodovico II Gonzaga's reign as *Marchese* of Mantua were somewhat more chequered as far as dynastic and diplomatic achievements are concerned.[94] It is true that he wisely furthered the connection with the Holy Roman Empire by cementing a marriage between his eldest son,Federico,and Margherita von Wittelsbach of Bavaria.Lodovico also married his daughters Barbara and Paola to Eberhard Duke of Württemburg and Leonhard, Count of Gorizia, respectively.However, Lodovico had no control over matters of genetics and heredity, nor over the machinations of the Sforza.[95] Both Paola Malatesta (b.1393-d.1453) and Barbara of Brandenburg were responsible for introducing further chronic deformities besides those the Gonzaga were noted for.[96] Lodovico's hopes and aspirations for his younger daughters Susanna (b.1447) and Dorotea (b.1449) were to be cruelly thwarted as they both soon exhibited not only the characteristic hunch-back of the Gonzaga but also the so-called "Brandenburg Shoulder" which manifested itself as one shoulder being higher and somewhat larger than the other.[97] Dorotea was to develop these traits less markedly and later than Susanna.However, in both cases the physical defects provided sufficient excuse for the Sforza refusing to finalise the betrothal of Galeazzo Maria Sforza to either girl.[98] Some idea of the humiliation felt by both Barbara and Lodovico may be gained from Barbara's strong protests against the medical

examination of Dorotea (requested on 21 September 1463 and completed on 7 December of the same year).[99] It was all to no avail:the Sforza cannot be blamed for rejecting Susanna and Dorotea Gonzaga,who were never strong in health and died young.Lodovico,for his part,requested to be discharged from his *condotta* with the Sforza.[100]

The real background to Sforza's maneouverings was the growing interest of France in Italian affairs,an interest that would become ever more intense and dangerous as the fifteenth century progressed. Francesco Sforza believed that the marriage of Galeazzo Maria to Bona da Savoia (urged upon him by Louis XI) would provide effective insurance against his dominions being divided up after his death in the same way as those of the Visconti had been.[101] Not only was Louis anxious to assert French influence over Milan but also the Avignon Popes had mediated in the political and matrimonial affairs of the *marchese* of Saluzzo,of the Paleologhi of Monferrato and the d'Estes of Ferrara,as well as those of the Visconti.[102] In February 1465,after a meeting between Bianca Maria Sforza and Barbara of Brandenburg (who had always been close friends) at Cremona,Francesco Sforza and Galeazzo Maria were discharged from any matrimonial obligations to the Gonzaga.[103] Galeazzo Maria Sforza would marry Bona da Savoia on 6 July 1468.[104] Lodovico's requests for payment of his *condottiere* stipend,now in arrears to the tune of 42,000 ducats,only met with vague promises of payment.[105] On 13 April 1465 Giacomo da Palazzo (who had undertaken negotiations for the payment

of the stipend) was recalled to Mantua and relations between Milan and Mantua were effectively suspended.[106]

The Venetians were not slow in exploiting the rift between the Gonzaga and the Sforza.Lodovico himself had in fact foreseen the possibility of a Venetian move against Milan.Accordingly,Lodovico began negotiations with both the Venetians and with Ferrante of Aragon (who had allied Naples with Milan) so as to secure the best offer from either.[107] Carlo Brognolo,on 8 March 1466,told Lodovico that Venice was eager to conclude a *condotta* with him.[108] However,ever since 4 January of that same year,Naples had been seeking Lodovico's services.On that day,at Foggia,Bartolomeo da Recanati had been instructed by the Aragonese court to urge Lodovico to serve on behalf of the Neapolitan-Milanese alliance.[109] On 8 March 1466 Bianca Maria Sforza gave Antonio Guidobono the task of securing a *condotta* with Lodovico.[110] She would not be disappointed.However,on that same day,Francesco Sforza died.The situation was now in need of a quick resolution as it was well known that Galeazzo Maria Sforza had neither the military experience nor the political acumen of his father.Furthermore,the Venetians were quick to remind Lodovico Gonzaga that they could pay his stipend more readily than the Sforza.[111] The terms presented to Lodovico by Carlo Brognolo on 22 March 1466 were tempting enough:36,000 gold florins in peacetime;80,000 in war,and with full guarantee of the integrity of the Mantovano.[112]

Lodovico was in a dilemma:his stipend had not been paid by the Sforza for two years and four months and the Venetians seemed ready to march on the Mantovano should

Lodovico delay acceptance of their offer.[113] The situation was resolved by an offer from Galeazzo Maria Sforza and King Ferrante,negotiated on 1 April 1466.[114] Although the stipend was less than that offered by Venice (32,000 gold ducats in peacetime;70,000 in war),the *condotta* was clinched by Ferrante's secret offer of Verona,Asola,Vicenza and Lonato should Lodovico take them in any subsequent campaign.[115]

Matters now proceeded more smoothly,in spite of the momentary threat posed by the collapse of Niccolò Soderini's plot against Piero de'Medici at Florence in September 1466.[116] It looked as if Venice would come to Soderini's aid,however,in the event the Venetians proved lukewarm to the enterprise.The situation remained stable with an alliance being negotiated between Galeazzo Maria Sforza,King Ferrante of Naples,Venice and Pope Paul II,on 8 May 1468.Mantua concurred on 17 June.[117] One of the reasons for the formalizing of this alliance was the Pope's wish for a crusade (expressed again at the formal ratification of tha alliance on 26 June 1468).[118]

Lodovico continued to be regarded as valuable to the Sforza,and the further *condotte* negotiated during the years 1470-76 were generous in the stipends they offered.Not only had Lodovico received an advance of 12,000 ducats on his stipend in February 1471 but also in 1472 the sum of 32,000 gold ducats in peacetime and 82,000 in war was decided in negotiations conducted between Marsilio Andreasi (on Mantua's behalf) and Milan from 14 to 31 May.[119] The *condotta* was for three years and 12,000 of the war-stipend was for Lodovico's

successor,Federico.The Sforza also promised a further 42,000 ducats annually to Lodovico (presumably to forestall any offers from Venice) on 14 July 1472.[120] Not even the refusal of Lodovico to lead 600 troops,on 9 September 1472,led to any change in his *condotta*,and on 18 November 1474 Lodovico ratified an alliance with Milan,Venice and Florence.[121] It was also the case that throughout the years 1470-76 Lodovico was regularly involved in diplomatic duties by Popes Paul II and Sixtus IV for organizing the crusade that the Popes still hoped to mount against the Turks.On 24 December 1470 Florence,Venice and Naples ratified a league against the Turkish threat.[122] Four years later,on 23 October, Lodovico sent Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga to conduct negotiations on his behalf with Sixtus IV.[123]

The years 1476-78 were the late evening of Lodovico's life.Although age and chronic illness had meant that his days of active military service were long over,Lodovico would still play an important role in diplomatic affairs.However,in 1476 two events threatened to inflame the political situation.The first was an attempt by Niccolò d'Este to overthrow Ercole d'Este,Duke of Ferrara.[124] Lodovico had frankly hoped that it would succeed,knowing that Ferrara would have been a less powerful neighbour as a result.[125] The *coup* did not succeed.Niccolò d'Este was caught,tried and executed.The second was much more serious and immediately urgent for Lodovico.On 26 December Galeazzo Maria Sforza was assassinated.[126] The instigator was Nicola Montano and the co-conspirators were Carlo Visconti,Girolamo Olgiati

and Giovanni Andrea Lampugnani.Montano had a reputation for being fanatically passionate for liberty which was said to have been inspired by an extensive reading of the works of Livy and Sallust.[127] The plot failed:the conspirators were unable to carry the population of Milan with them.Bona da Savoia was able to re-gain control rapidly.Visconti,Olgiati and Lampugnani were tried and executed,with Montano being forced to flee to Florence.[128] Lodovico,in his capacity as Captain-General of the Sforza forces,had mobilized his troops and concentrated them at Marcaria and Canneto.Federico Gonzaga was given command of those at Marcaria.

On 2 January 1477 Lodovico entered Milan and not only gave vital support to Bona da Savoia but also showed that his diplomatic acumen was not failing him in the same way that his health was by refusing the tempting but utterly irresponsible blandishments of the Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick III.The Emperor had invited Lodovico,after his return to Mantua,to lead an offensive against Milan so that Frederick could be its virtual ruler.[129] Far from being attracted by the Emperor's offer,Lodovico knew all too well what a conflict would be precipitated and dispatched Federico Pusterla and Giacomo Cappi as ambassadors to dissuade Frederick from his enterprise.[130] The Emperor's offer of help to recover Asola,Lonato and Peschiera from the Venetians was of no avail.The Pope was equally aware of the potential danger of the situation and ordered Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga to Germany with the same brief as Lodovico's ambassadors.[131] Nevertheless, Lodovico's relations with

the Emperor Frederick were always close and cordial;clear evidence of this is provided by the Emperor granting Lodovico (on 1 August 1474) the privilege of making an alliance with the prince or state of his own choice.[132]

For some time now Lodovico's debility had been such that he could only journey any great distance in a litter.He had achieved another considerable diplomatic success by reconciling the communes of Lucca and Pietrasana with the Company of St.George of Genoa on 21 September 1477.In the same year Pope Sixtus IV awarded Lodovico the Golden Rose,an especial sign of Papal favour.[133] On 22 April 1478,at Graz,Frederick III gave formal recognition to Lodovico's possession of Bozzolo, Dosolo, Gazzuolo, Isola Dovarese, Pomponesco, Rivarolo, Sabbioneta, San Martino dell'Argine and Viadana.[134] This was the last major diplomatic *coup* for Lodovico II Gonzaga:he contracted the plague (which had been raging in Mantua since May) and died on 11 June 1478 at Goito.[135]

Federico Gonzaga was formally invested as *Marchese* of Mantua on 14 July 1478.[136] His reign would be short:barely six years.Whilst the physical attributes and intellectual qualities of Federico and his wife, Margherita, have been the subject of doubt and debate, their rule was wise and successful.First and foremost,Federico inherited a sound political situation in the Mantovano.Lodovico II had so divided the legacy of the state as to achieve a balance of power among his heirs.Cardinal Francesco and Gianfrancesco Gonzaga (b.1446-d.1496) inherited the towns and lands of Bozzolo,

Dosolo, Gazzuolo, Isola Dovarese, Rivarolo, Sabbioneta, San Martino dell'Argine and Viadana.[137] Rodolfo (b.1451-d.1495) and the Protonotary Apostolic, Lodovico (b.1460-d.1511) received Canneto, Castelgoffredo, Castiglione delle Stiviere, Ostiano, Redondesco and Solferino, with their associate lands.[138] Because of the strategic importance of Solferino, troops were to be stationed there. These arrangements were re-affirmed on 12 February 1479. Further conditions were that Cardinal Francesco and Protonotary Lodovico should cede their lands and towns to Gianfrancesco and Rodolfo if they predeceased them. There had been only two changes to this arrangement: in January 1479 Viadana was exchanged for Rodigo and Canneto for Luzzara. On 28 June 1478 Canneto and Luzzara had been ceded by Rodolfo and Protonotary Lodovico (with the palace at Marmirolo) to the *Marchese* Federico. All of these arrangements received the formal approval of the Holy Roman Emperor on 10 June 1479.[139]

Federico may have inherited a sound and stable political situation in the Mantovano; it was appreciably less so in the Italian Peninsula as a whole. The shifts in the balance of power between the major states would be complicated by the increasing intervention of the French and on occasion, the Swiss. Events were moving steadily and inexorably towards the cataclysm of Fornovo (1495).

Throughout his reign as *Marchese*, Federico did not depart from the alliance with Milan established by Lodovico II. In 1479 and 1480 Federico renewed his *condotta* with Bona da Savoia who paid his stipends promptly. From 1478 to Federico's death in 1484, his

services were well-appreciated by Milan in the struggle for advantage between Milan, Florence, Naples, Venice and Ferrara.[140]

Federico had not had to wait long for a request for help from Bona da Savoia.In November 1478 the Swiss had invaded as far as Lugano.[141] This invasion had been planned by Pope Sixtus IV who had hoped to derive some advantage from the Pazzi Conspiracy which had taken place at Florence on 26 April 1478.[142] Sixtus was joined by Ferrante of Aragon.In the event the Pazzi Conspiracy proved abortive;not only this but also Sixtus' actions had provoked Milan,Ferrara and Venice to group together against him.[143] Baulked in his ambitions,Sixtus sought the aid of the Swiss canton, Ticino. Federico Gonzaga,after having concentrated his forces at Cremona,moved swiftly on Lugano and compelled the Swiss to withdraw.[144]

Federico's *condotta* with Milan obliged him to be away from Mantua on several occasions.He was well-served by a number of able administrators who governed the Mantovano in his absence.Eusebio Malatesta was entrusted with civil matters,while the forces in the Mantovano were commanded by Francesco Secco d'Aragona (who had married Caterina Gonzaga,one of two illegitimate daughters of Lodovico II).[145] However,in the clash with the Pope and Ferrante of Aragon Federico did not have the honour of being Captain-General of the Milanese and Florentine forces.That privilege had fallen to Ercole d'Este.[146] In 1479, while in the field, Federico received news of the serious illness of Margherita of Bavaria and hastened

back to Mantua.On October 14 of that year Margherita died having been *Marchesana* for barely one year and four months.[147] She had given Federico six children, Francesco, Sigismondo, Giovanni, Chiara, Elisabetta and Maddalena.

In 1480 Lorenzo de'Medici succeeded in persuading Ferrante of Aragon to repudiate his alliance with Sixtus IV.A peace was signed between Florence and Naples in March 1480.[148] Sixtus' response was to send one of his nephews,Girolamo Riario,to Venice so as to secure an alliance against Ferrara and bring about the destruction of Ercole d'Este,as both the Pope and the Venetians coveted the d'Este territories.Thus it was that 1480 saw the Venetians,Sixtus IV and Girolamo Riario,and Genoa (which had rebelled against the Sforza and the Marchese of Monferrato) in one league ranged against another comprising Florence, Milan, Naples and Mantua (together with Giovanni Bentivoglio,ruler of Bologna).[149] As Gian Galeazzo Sforza was still too young to play any significant role in events his uncle,Lodovico (Il Moro) Sforza,had taken the role of his tutor.[150]

War broke out on May 1482 and matters would move fairly swiftly over the final two years to a somewhat desultory and unsatisfactory conclusion for Mantua.Throughout 1481 the Gonzaga and their forces had been in readiness for the conflict.This time the armies deployed against Venice and her allies were under the overall command of Federico da Montefeltro,Duke of Urbino.[151] All of this had been closely watched by Castile and Aragon.Isabella and Ferdinand of Spain

praised Federico Gonzaga for his part in supporting Florence and Naples.On 10 June 1482 they wrote to him from Cordoba sending their regards and exhorted Federico to remain in alliance with Florence and Naples.Gian Galeazzo Sforza received a similar message from them on 30 August of the same year.[152]

The Venetians had every reason to be optimistic about the outcome of their offensive.They achieved many successes in August 1482 and occupied much of the Polesino di Rovigo.[153] The death of Federico da Montefeltro from malaria in the same year gave some further cause for alarm.However,Federico Gonzaga was able to compel a Venetian withdrawal by cutting the banks of the Mincio and thus inundating their positions.[154] Although this action did not relieve Ferrara of the Venetian menace as was hoped,it was sufficient to alarm Sixtus IV into doubting the eventual success of the Venetians in bringing down Ercole d'Este.[155] Furthermore,the disturbances in the Papal States and the persuasiveness of Girolamo Riario (who had been promised certain territories by the opponents of Venice) urged Sixtus to sign a peace with the Florentine-Milanese-Neapolitan league on 12 December 1482.He also undertook to guarantee the defence of Ferrara should the Venetians attack.[156]

In March 1483 the war entered its final phase with the appointment of Alfonso of Aragon,Duke of Calabria,as commander of the league's forces in place of Federico da Montefeltro.However, the detailed planning of the campaigns (which were centred around the Bresciano, the

Bergamasco and the Veronese) was entrusted to Federico Gonzaga.[157] The Venetians gained some victories in the Puglia region. capturing some of the sea-ports (including Gallipoli and Monopoli).[158] Sixtus IV, in turn, excommunicated Venice in June 1483: the Most Serene Republic paid no attention.In October of the same year action was seen in the Mantovano, with Francesco Secco d'Aragona beseiging and occupying Asola (11 October).Francesco Gonzaga (the future Francesco II) was also involved in the seige and occupation.[159]

Federico did not hold Asola for long,not only were the Venetians actively attempting to retake the town but also Lodovico Sforza made it clear that the ceding of Asola (and some other territories) would be necessary to secure a peace between the contending states.[160] The *Marchese* of Mantua had little cause to be happy;the loss of Asola and also the news of the ravaging of Revere did not improve Federico's poor health and he died on 14 July 1484 at Mantua.[161] The Peace of Bagnolo was signed on 7 August 1484 between Milan and Venice.Francesco Gonzaga added his signature to the agreement on 15 October,this addition being confirmed by Milan a fortnight later.[162]

Francesco II Gonzaga was formally invested as fourth *Marchese* of Mantua on 24 July 1484.[163] He lost no time in attempting to regain Asola and wrote to the Mantuan ambassador at Milan,Alessandro Arrivabene,to exert some influence on the Sforza.At the very least,Francesco wished to retain Casaloldo and Remedello.[164] Negotiations were not fruitful; however, Francesco remained on good terms with the Sforza and renewed his father's *condotta*

with Milan on 12 July 1486.The formal ratification took place fifteen days later.[165] The same incentive was offered to Francesco as had been to his grandfather,Lodovico;in the event of war between Milan and Venice he would be entitled to retain Asola,Lonato and Peschiera should he take them in any ensuing campaign.In addition Francesco would be given the cities of Verona,Vicenza,Brescia and Bergamo.The *condotta* would be valid for ten years.[166] The Milanese could afford to be generous with terms which they could drastically modify or withdraw in the future.

In his youth Francesco had been greatly influenced by his uncle Francesco Secco d'Aragona,especially in military matters.However,a violent row was to break out between them.The main reason was that Francesco had been quietly nurturing an alliance with the Venetians,in February 1490.[167] The row was an unedifying episode for both Francesco II and Francesco Secco.The situation was somewhat ameliorated by the sumptuous celebrations that marked Francesco's marriage to Isabella d'Este on 15 February 1490.[168] Although it seemed that Francesco II and Francesco Secco d'Aragona were reconciled by May 1491,Francesco Secco was to leave Mantua for Pisa in June of that year.He would accept a *condotta* from Lorenzo de'Medici giving him command of one-third of the pro-Florentine forces stationed there.[169] Francesco II Gonzaga,for his part,had accepted Doge Barbarigo's offer of commanding the Venetian troops in 1490,shortly after his marriage to Isabella.[170]

Francesco II Gonzaga soon found himself intimately involved in the deteriorating political situation that developed in the Italian Peninsula following the death of Lorenzo de'Medici in April 1492.In his diplomatic and political aspirations Francesco II much more resembled his great-grandfather, Gianfrancesco, than his grandfather, Lodovico II.Above all, he believed that his abilities as a *condottiere* would go some considerable way towards augmenting the status of Mantua among the major states of the Italian Peninsula.[171] The frank truth was that Francesco's diplomatic and political abilities did not match his undoubted courage and resourcefulness on the battlefield, and he was destined to learn the same uncomfortable lessons in the nature of political power as Gianfrancesco.

The next three years saw events move inexorably towards the Pyrrhic victory of Fornovo.The balance of power between the major states of the Italian Peninsula had always been delicate and the relative peace and stability that it maintained was soon to be destroyed by the machinations of Lodovico Sforza. Lodovico had usurped power in Milan in blatant defiance of the rights of his nephew,Gian Galeazzo Sforza.[172] For the moment all seemed well.On 22 April 1493 a league was signed between the Pope, Milan, Ferrara and Venice.Five days later Francesco II affirmed his alliance with Milan,and Mantua had momentary cause for celebration.[173]

Francesco had now committed himself to steering a delicate path of alliances with Milan,Venice and (after Fornovo) France.This situation continued up to 1507.The

strengths and weaknesses of his position would become manifest not least because Francesco was receiving *condotta* stipends from both Milan and Venice.[174] On 15 July 1493 Francesco instructed his representative at Venice,Antonio Salimbeni,to reassure the Serene Republic of his allegiance to her.[175] Three months later Francesco was at Ferrara (the Duchess Eleonora having died on 13 October) to re-ascertain his position with Venice and made a special point of ordering Antonio Salimbeni to convey his congratulations to the Venetians,as the Venetian ambassador at Rome had exercised a hand in advocating Sigismondo Gonzaga's candidacy for a Cardinal's hat.[176] However,no sooner was this done than some uncomfortable messages were received from Milan to the effect that Francesco should not forget his alliance with the Sforza.[177] It was clear that Lodovico Sforza wished to see Francesco at Mantua (or any other suitable place) to emphasize this.Francesco's uncle,Rodolfo Gonzaga (b.1451-d.1495),who was at Milan in 1493,informed him that sometime in 1494 Lodovico proposed to make his visit,probably in March.[178] In what was a potentially embarrassing situation Francesco had some small leverage.The Sforza had not paid Francesco his stipends for some time and the Marchese could assert that the Venetians were more punctual in this regard. However,Francesco II Gonzaga was reminded of Mantua's small diplomatic weight amongst the greater powers when,after having ordered his *oratore* at Milan,Alessandro Arrivabene,to urge payment of at least the interest on his stipend,Arrivabene replied (13 April 1494) that

Lodovico Sforza was at Vigevano and would receive no-one.[179]

It was well that Arrivabene had more than enough initiative to obtain any relevant news of the contemporary political situation.While at Milan awaiting the reply to Francesco's request,Arrivabene received information of the imminent expedition into the Italian Peninsula by King Charles VIII of France.[180] The consequences of Lodovico Sforza's league with the French king (made on 29 April 1493),where in return for future aid to Milan Charles had been encouraged to take the Aragonese throne of Naples,were coming home.

Francesco's personal qualities as a *condottiere* were as well known to the French as to the Milanese and the Venetians.It was not long before an approach was made to him to give his services to Charles VIII.His sister Chiara Gonzaga (b.1465-d.1505) had married Gilbert de Montpensier and they both urged Francesco to support the French cause.[181] In April 1494 Charles was making ready to invade the Italian Peninsula and in the course of exploratory diplomatic soundings sent Perron de Basche,d'Aubigny Briconnet and the Councellor and Judge of the Provence parliament,Accorso Mayneri,to Mantua.The last two arrived at Mantua on 21 April and openly counselled the *Marchese* to ally himself with Charles.[182] Francesco quickly informed the Venetians of the course of events.He also related the same news to Isabella d'Este who at that moment was at Urbino and further told her of the French preparations for the advance on the Kingdom of Naples and the de-throning of Alfonso II.[183] Isabella

replied that her father,Ercole d'Este,had agreed to serve with the French.Not only this but also d'Aubigny had offered Francesco Asola,Lonato and Peschiera,should either he or the French take them from the Venetians,as well as promising very generous payments for any provisions taken from the Mantovano by French forces.[184]

Francesco was now in a real quandary.Joining with the French offered the prospect of the rank of Captain-General of the French army.The stipend offered would also exceed anything offered by the Venetians.For the moment,Francesco maintained tentative contact with Charles' ambassadors while preparing the Mantovano for the war which he was sure would reach as far as there.[185] In the meantime d'Aubigny continued his diplomatic probing in Florence,Naples and Rome.While at Rome he heard of the plan of Pope Alexander VI for an anti-French alliance,nevertheless,d'Aubigny succeeded in bribing Prospero and Francesco Colonna to serve with the French.[186]

Diplomatic manoeuverings soon became more complicated and faster as Lodovico Sforza,the Venetians the Neapolitans and the d'Estes sought to gain the best advantage from the imminent French invasion.The figure of Lodovico Sforza was of pivotal importance in determining the course of events.It was not yet time for him to regret his alliance with Charles VIII and their relations were cordial enough for Lodovico to offer his services as leader of the French forces in their attack on Alfonso II of Naples.[187] Charles,for his part,had sent naval reinforcements from Normandy to Genoa and this action

ensured the success against the Aragonese fleet at Spezia and Porto Venere,which were taken.Encouraged by this victory the French planned to transport the troops in the Piedmont by sea so as to save time.These forces would then link up with the Milanese troops that were concentrated in the Parmense.[188] The Colonna brothers were now ready,with five-hundred cavalry.At once the Florentine *oratore* made strenuous diplomatic efforts to avert war and sought to dissuade Lodovico Sforza from acting as mediator between Charles VIII and Alfonso II.[189] The Florentines had genuine cause for concern as Charles VIII had closed the branch of the Medici bank at Lyons in June 1494 and had threatened to expel all Florentine merchants from France.[190] This action was warning enough to Francesco II Gonzaga (and others) of what might be expected from the French king should he succeed in consolidating his position in the Italian Peninsula.Both Francesco and Isabella exerted all their diplomatic skills to re-establish contact with Lodovico Sforza in the hope of avoiding war:silence was their reward.[191]

Charles VIII left Vienna on 23 August 1494 and entered the Italian Peninsula without encountering resistance.On his arrival at Asti on 9 September,he nominated Gilbert de Montpensier Lieutenant-General of the Italian Peninsula.[192] While at Asti,Charles was met by Lodovico Sforza,his wife Beatrice d'Este,Ercole d'Este and a number of Milanese noblewomen who all paid the French king their respects.It is interesting to note that Francesco and Isabella were kept informed of all events

by Chiara Gonzaga and an *oratore* (invited to Mantua for the purpose),Alessandro di Baese.Francesco's response to any news was to maintain a semblance of neutrality; Isabella was much more sympathetic to her father's pro-French position.[193]

The Battle of Fornovo was now less than a year away and Francesco II Gonzaga found it increasingly difficult to continue his cautious diplomatic approaches (via Giacomo Probo d'Atri) to Charles VIII without offending the Venetians.Febo Gonzaga and Antonio Scarampo were sent to the Venetian forces that were in the field to re-assure them of Francesco's fidelity to his *condotta* with Venice.[194] Donato de'Preti was also sent,at about the same time,to Milan in order to smooth a political path with Lodovico Sforza.While at Milan de'Preti was able to bring Francesco Gonzaga up to date on the campaign of Charles VIII.The French king had now moved to Vigevano and was planning an offensive in the Romagna in collaboration with Ercole d'Este.[195] In preparation for this it was necessary to transport some of the forces (with much artillery) by river to Pavia.The length of the journey required a stop at Borgoforte in the Mantovano.Francesco was at Revere when Isabella d'Este informed him of this.[196] The unauthorized use of a town in the Mantovano by an outside party was not only an indication of the weakness of Francesco's diplomatic position but also potentially embarrassing for an ally of Venice.Francesco instructed Antonio Salimbene,the Mantuan *oratore* at Venice,to maintain that Francesco had been ignorant of the incident.[197] One may be certain that the

Venetians were satisfied with Salimbene's explanation: when Charles VIII sent ambassadors to Venice for hard news of Francesco's fidelity and reputation with the Republic he was left in no doubt of the Marchese's high standing.[198] However,while Lodovico Sforza was entertaining Charles lavishly at Vigevano on 10 October 1494,Francesco had obtained permission from the Venetians to visit Ercole d'Este.Although he ostensibly condemned his uncles' adherence to the French cause,Francesco nevertheless gave Ercole Febo Gonzaga's description of the preparations for war by Alfonso II amongst which was the mobilizing of 10,000 infantry.[199] Francesco further stated that he intended seeing Gilbert de Montpensier at Bondeno or Finale.It may be noted that Francesco had not sought permission to see representatives of Charles VIII.The Venetians did not voice disapproval for this "oversight" any more than they did when they heard of further numbers of ships using the Po,in Mantuan territory,without seeking Francesco's consent.One may be sure that the main reason was that Venice had hoped to gain some ports in the Pugliesi coast if the Aragonese Kingdom of Naples was destroyed.[200]

Charles VIII had taken time to pause at Vigevano to recover from a suspected attack of smallpox that he may have contracted at Asti.He lost no time in deploying his forces.Gilbert de Montpensier set about stationing the troops in Lombardy and set up his headquarters at Parma.[201] The Venetians were not so happy this time when Francesco Gonzaga allowed French forces to provision themselves from territories in the Mantovano,

however,Francesco had little option in the matter.After having left Vigevano Charles VIII paused at Pavia for two days before he and 13,000 troops turned in the direction of Piacenza.In addition the French had placed 3,900 men under the command of Galeazzo Sanseverino to move against Florence and had ordered them to advance towards Pisa or Sarzana.[202]

Francesco II Gonzaga would maintain the cautious waiting game for some time yet.The situation became somewhat clearer with the formal acclaimation of Lodovico Sforza as Duke of Milan on 22 October 1494 (he was in fact proclaimed Duke on the same evening as the death of the rightful heir,his nephew Gian Galeazzo Sforza).[203] Lodovico invited his uncle,Ercole d'Este,to Milan so that they could discuss their future strategy in alliance with the French.One may note that Ercole made a brief stop at Mantua without giving Isabella d'Este prior notice and endeavoured to persuade her to urge Francesco to accept a position of high command in his pro-French forces. Francesco,who was at Marmirolo,declined any involvement in the matter and refused the tempting offer of payment of arrears of his stipend by Sforza.[204] In the face of the imminent French offensive against Naples,Venice remained neutral and Francesco would re-affirm his *condotta* with the Republic on 21 December 1494.[205]

Two months before Francesco's re-affirmation of his *condotta* with Venice,Charles VIII had entered Piacenza and although he seemed poised to take Florence,continued his advance towards Naples on 28 December 1494.[206] The city fell on 18 February of the following year.The swift

occupation of the Aragonese Kingdom of Naples was sufficient to awaken the Venetians from their policy of neutrality and indifference to one of forming an anti-French league.The easy victory of the French and the depredations of their troops in those parts of Italy where they passed through or were stationed in convinced the majority of Italians that Charles'forces constituted a considerable threat to the political stability and integrity of the Italian Peninsula.On 23 February 1495 Francesco formally re-affirmed his *condotta* with Venice.[207]

The anti-French contingent now widened steadily.Pope Alexander VI repudiated his former alliance with the French,emphasizing his new stance by refusing Charles VIII the formal investiture of the Kingdom of Naples.[208] Lodovico Sforza,for his part,began negotiations with Venice for an anti-French league.This decision was kept hidden from the French king's ambassador whom Lodovico entertained with much pomp in January 1495.[209] One need not doubt that the news of Charles' entry into Rome and his taking of Capua had spurred Lodovico into mobilizing 1,800 men-at-arms and 600 cavalry.[210] By late February 1495 Venice also had mobilized 2,000 troops,with an equal number of cavalry.Many notable figures made their own contribution to the war-effort;Antonio da Montefeltro (natural son of Federico) took command of 100 troops and 50 cavalry.In the meantime,strenuous efforts were made to involve the Emperor,Maximilian.It was rumoured (at least as much was communicated to Francesco Gonzaga) that

24,000 men (half infantry.half cavalry) had departed from Cologne on 24 March 1495.[211]

On 31 March 1495 the first definite steps were taken in the formation of an anti-French league.At Venice a decision was made to include Ferdinand the Catholic (king of Aragon),the Emperor Maximilian, Venice,Milan and Rome (together with the lords of Sicily and Sardinia) in this league.Savoy,Florence and Naples were in no position to make an effective contribution and were left out.The league was formally proclaimed on 12 April 1495.[212]

In retrospect,September 12 1494 was a most significant date in the history of the Gonzaga and of the Italian Peninsula.On that day Charles VIII gave audience to Lodovico Sforza at Asti.The modern mind may readily identify with Charles VIII's enterprise and the way in which he proposed to carry it out.The French king had wished to free the Holy Land from the Turks and also take the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily from the Spanish.This wish amounted to an exercise in aggressive nation-state politics.It was especially important from the point of view of Charles' advisers to secure France against the growing nationhood of her neighbours.Spain was now much more dangerous since the merging of Aragon and Castile in 1469.It meant that the Spanish grip on Naples and Sicily was tighter than it had ever been since Aragon had wrested the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily from a cadet branch of the French royal household in 1442. Therefore,the practical and sensible aim of Charles' invasion of the Italian Peninsula was the acquisition of power (and,if possilble,of as much plunder as individuals

might seize).The means consisted of one of the finest armies that Europe had seen in a long time.Numbering 40.000 men,it comprised the best cavalry anywhere,Swiss pikemen and an outstanding artillery train.[213] Charles was fully-confident that he would take what he saw to be a cowed and divided Italy by *blitzkrieg* tactics.No-one would have been able to recognize France as the same country that had been exhausted and abject at the end of the Hundred Years' War just over a generation before.Charles could afford to give brusque and discourteous audience to Lodovico Sforza at Asti.[214]

The Italy which Charles VIII of France entered was rich in ancient culture and material wealth but woefully lacking in military and (all too often) political cohesion.None of the individual states (Milan no more than Mantua) were capable of resisting the French forces.and,as far as Charles was concerned,it was most unlikely that they would unite against him.However,no sooner had the Italians realized that the taking of the Kingdom of Naples was only the start of a conquest of the entire Peninsula than most of them united in passionate hostility against Charles VIII and strove to cut him off from his homeland.If Charles had ever had dreams of becoming another Charlemagne that dream was rapidly becoming a nightmare.The superb army that had arrived in Italy around ten months earlier was by,the summer of 1495,virtually halved through disease and desertion,and harried constantly by the Italians.The king abandoned Naples on 20 May (leaving it in the hands of de Montpensier),entered Rome on 1 June,then journeyed

towards Siena and Pisa:from Pisa Charles and his force moved in the direction of Parma.[215] To reach Parma it was necessary to negotiate the dry mountain valley of the Taro.It was here,near the village of Fornovo,that Charles saw his way barred by the forces of the league under the command of Francesco II Gonzaga.[216]

The Battle of Fornovo took place on 6 July 1495.French numbers were around 9,000 (with 64 cannons).Italian numbers were around 20,700 of which 12,500 constituted Francesco's own contingent.The French forces were drawn up on the left bank of the Taro,the Italians on the right.The situation was aggravated by the fact that there had been heavy rain during the night before the battle (and which continued for some time on the day of the battle),thus,the waters of the Taro were swollen and difficult for either army to cross.[217]

The battle itself was a most ferocious and bloody contest.Francesco Gonzaga fought in the thick of it,having three mounts killed under him and having to be forcibly dragged out of the fighting by his comrades when his sword broke.[218] However,it has to be said that the French forces had a certain psychological advantage.For about two centuries the Italian way of war had been what would today be termed a "damage limitation exercise". Conflicts could be fierce and bloody but they were generally confined and local The main offensive took the form of a campaign of attrition against lines of communication.If two large forces found themselves confronting one another they would engage in a series of feints and maneouvres until one side conceded that it had

been out-maneouvred by the other.[219] Thus,the situation was resolved tactically and formally rather than combatively.It was not to be so on the Taro:the French meant to secure their passage out of Italy;they were in full and deadly earnest.Charles VIII had no intention of engaging in chess-board maneouvres followed by a formal surrender.Force would decide the outcome.The result was what was at best a Pyrrhic victory for the Italians;perhaps in fact a stalemate.In all fairness it has to be said that the swollen waters of the Taro prevented half of the League's forces from engaging the enemy. However,Francesco Gonzaga was unable to preserve a uniform discipline throughout the League's ranks;his *stradiotti* (of Greek and Albanian origin) were more concerned with plunder than with harrying the French.[220]

The Battle of Fornovo secured an honourable escort for Charles VIII to the French border and three years of respite for the Italian Peninsula.With the accession of Charles' cousin,Louis d'Orleans,as Louis XII (8 April 1498),the campaign was renewed with the same resolve in the August and September of 1499.As grandson of Valentina Visconti,Louis had a strong claim to the Duchy of Milan.He simply crossed the Alps and seized it.[221]

Francesco II Gonzaga fell from favour with the Venetians as General of the Republic's forces while on campaign for the King of Naples.This fall was due to the machinations of Lodovico Sforza.Between 1498 and 1507 Francesco steered a delicate path of alliances with Lodovico Sforza,the Venetians and the French.This strategy did not prevent the Mantovano from being placed

in grave danger following the invasion of northern Italy by Louis XII during August and September 1499.The Mantovano was barely saved by strenuous diplomatic efforts,,as much by Isabella d'Este as by Francesco.[222]

Compelled by Louis XII to command forces in France,Francesco Gonzaga left Mantuan affairs with Isabella d'Este.[223] He rejected Machiavelli's offer of commanding Florentine forces,in 1506.In that same year,Francesco took Bologna on behalf of the Papacy and crushed the Genoese revolt against Louis XII.[224] He joined the League of Cambrai but recurrent venereal disease kept him from the Battle of Agnadello (14 May 1509).[225] Also,in 1509,Francesco was captured by the Venetians (in what were the most unedifying circumstances) and taken to Venice.He was freed by the good offices of Pope Julius II but Francesco had to leave his son and heir,Federico,as hostage in Rome and lead the Papal forces against the French and Ferrarese.[226] The French victory at Marignano,on 13 September 1515,again placed the Mantovano in danger.Francesco's final years were marred by chronic disease and he died of syphilis at Mantua on 29 March 1519.[227]

This survey of the Gonzaga as strategists makes a number of things clear,especially for those years 1460-1506 when Andrea Mantegna was at the Gonzaga court.The Gonzaga were able to exploit what was a fluid and often potentially dangerous situation.The Mantovano was the centre of what could be described as two axes:North-South and East-West.It is all too often the case that in any consideration of Gonzaga affairs that one is emphasized

at the expense of the other.The fact is that they were of equal importance.For the most part,the Gonzaga looked north,to the Holy Roman Empire,for dynastic marriages;east,west and south(to Venice,Milan and Rome) for *condotte*.All of this activity must be seen in the context of diplomacy;a state which consisted of rich agricultural land with no readily defensible natural frontiers was obliged to have her formal military defences strengthened by an efficient system of embassies and ambassadors which gave good warning of the outside situation.

In their diplomatic activity,the Gonzaga were ably-served by a small and select group of men whose versatility was of as much importance as their allegiance to the Gonzaga.[228] Strictly-speaking,they were amateurs in that they were ordinarily magistrates,secretaries or captains.Marsilio Andreasi,Jacopo da Palazo and Jacopo de Arezzo are typical examples.The relatively stable peace following the Peace of Lodi (1454) gave much greater opportunity (and necessity) for them to exercise their talents in diplomacy,and there is no doubt that they were expected to write to their Gonzaga masters regularly and often.[229]

However,it is in military affairs that the strengths and weaknesses of the Gonzaga are most clearly seen.Mantua was large enough to be crucial in any questions of the resolution of the balance of power between Milan and Venice.However,she was too small to assert claims on the conditions of such things as peace-treaties negotiated between the greater powers.Many times

the Gonzaga,from Lodovico II to Francesco II,were offered the strategically-important towns of Asola,Lonato and Peschiera as a reward for their military services,only to be denied these towns as a condition of subsequent peace negotiations.Nevertheless,although the Gonzaga did not produce a commander of the calibre of a Montefeltro,a Malatesta,a Visconti or a Sforza,the geographical position of Mantua meant that particularly generous stipends could be negotiated.Thus it was that these stipends could be treated as being as much a matter of diplomatic affairs as military ones.They provided the Gonzaga with the opportunity to pose as responsible *condottieri* who were not war-mongers because the Gonzaga did not have to have wage war in order to earn a good income as field-commanders.[230]

The fact remains that,when all has been considered,that the only hope the Gonzaga had for "expansion" was dynastic marriages involving the Holy Roman Empire.Lodovico II Gonzaga was most astute in pursuing a policy of territorial consolidation rather than expansion.Dynastic claims,allies and money were all as valuable as land,for a vulnerable state from which no Gonzaga lord normally wished to venture far.[231] As strategists,the Gonzaga demonstrated a state of mind that was able to sum up a frequently changing situation quickly and act accordingly.It was not ruminative and deliberate in way that a scholar's would be.They also showed that whether or not small was beautiful it was,paradoxically,advantageous.

(c).*The Gonzaga as Patrons.*

The Gonzaga exercised what was, for a medium-sized state, a generous and extensive patronage that saw its expression in the Fine and Applied Arts, architecture, music and Letters.One may see the same shrewd,strategic approach of *condottieri* who were able to use small size to big advantage.

What has to considered here is the effective application of a relatively limited budget.As will be seen,primary documentary evidence is irritatingly patchy.However,the conditions of the *condotta* stipends were such that they gave the Gonzaga some room to manoeuvre in the allocation of money towards commissions.Nevertheless,it should not be surprising that no Gonzaga ever commissioned a bronze equestrian monument at Mantua.The expense involved in having an individual work executed by someone of the standard of Donatello or Verrocchio (or even a near-equivalent) would have been immense and quite unjustified for a single project.It is true that Vespasiano Gonzaga (b.1531-d.1591),Duke of Sabbioneta,commissioned twelve equestrian statues of his antecedents in 1587,but these were all of polychromed wood.

Flavio Biondo's famous and oft-quoted *dictum* that the only true kings and princes were those adorned by letters may have reflected rather than stimulated the support and expression that the Gonzaga gave to Humanist culture.[232] From the time that Luigi Gonzaga had

established himself in power.the Gonzaga lords had steadily accumulated books and manuscripts,so one need not doubt the long existence of an interest in letters.[233] This interest in books and manuscripts continued and it was during the reign of Gianfrancesco Gonzaga that Vittorino da Feltre was invited to Mantua and set up his school there (1423),thus establishing a centre of Humanist culture.[234] However,it is Gianfrancesco's consort,Paola Malatesta (b.1393-d.1453),who is of as much interest here.It would appear that she was responsible for other things besides introducing rickets into the Gonzaga family.In the register of accounts pertaining to her are listed some fifteen names of *scriptores* and *miniatori* who were working in the Gonzaga household at Mantua between the years 1417 and 1444.Ten of these names are of *scriptores* and five are of *miniatori*.The names begin with Antonius de Parma (*scriptor*) in 1417 and ends with Belbello (*inminiator*) in 1444.[235] This is a healthy tally and would indicate a steady activity in book-writing and manuscript illumination.As far as the question of costs relative to painting is concerned,it would appear to be the case that the amounts spent on this sort of work (and similar) were quite small.[236]

The years 1444 to 1506 would see no slackening in the volume of work undertaken by illuminators, calligraphers and copyists.Belbello da Pavia and Gerolamo da Cremona were engaged in illuminating the so-called Missal of Barbara of Brandenburg.[237] This work was still being illuminated by Belbello for Barbara of Brandenburg

in 1461.In early 1462,due to the influence of Mantegna,Belbello's work was condemned as having the quality of *pesantezza barbarica*.[238] He was replaced by Gerolamo da Cremona who continued the illuminating of the missal in a Mantegnesque style and completed the commission in 1466.[239] Another illuminator,Giacomo Bellanti (from San Pietro da Galatina),who first appears in Gonzaga correspondence in 1458 and who would continue to do so until 1475,was engaged on the so-called Palatina Breviary.It is thought that the Mantuan climate and the parsimony (or impecuniousness) of the Gonzaga led Bellanti to take up employment under Don Federico of Aragon.[240]

Pietro Guindaleri must have found the Gonzaga court and the Mantuan climate more amenable.He was at Mantua from 1464 until his death in 1506.[241] In 1469 Guindaleri was engaged on designs for brocade fabric.From 1479 to 1484 he was working on the illuminating of an *Officiolo grande* for Cardinal Sigismondo Gonzaga.[242] This has not been identified among the surviving examples of Gonzaga property.From 1489 until his death in 1506,Guindaleri worked on the famous edition of Pliny now in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Turin (the Pliny was still incomplete at Guindaleri's death and was not finished until 1526).[243] The penultimate illuminator to work during the Marchesate of Lodovico II Gonzaga and Barbara of Brandenburg was the Ferrarese,Guglielmo Giraldi del Magro.He had offered to complete Guindaleri's work on the Turin Pliny.[244] Del Magro first attracted the attention of the Gonzagas through selling an *Officiolo* to Barbara

of Brandenburg in 1469.The last new illuminators to be recuited by Lodovico and Barbara were the Ambrosio brothers.They came to Mantua from the Certosa di Pavia in 1474 and would appear to have worked solely for Barbara of Brandenburg.[245] One should say that there is no hard evidence that it was a tradition for the illuminators employed at any given time by the Gonzagas to work only for the "lady of the house".[246]

The calligraphers and the copyists were as fruitfully-employed as the illuminators.Pietro Paolo Marono had been engaged on the Missal of Barbara of Brandenburg in 1458.[247] In the same year Andrea da Lodi was working on a Vita aliquarum sanctarum virginum;he was also responsible for a Transitus S.Hieronimi (which has not been identified among the surviving possessions attributable to the Gonzaga) and in 1464 transcribed the Filocolo of Boccaccio.[248] One "Raffaello" was employed on the De Bello Pharsalico of Lucan in 1456 and between that year and 1460 he was working on the Historiae Alexandri Magni of Quintus Curtius Rufus.[249] Giorgio da Alessandra was responsible for two *Officioli* in 1460. and a work of Virgil's in 1464 (again, not identified among the surviving records of the possessions of the Gonzaga).[250] Bartolommeo Sanvito was engaged on the De Principe and the De Officiis of Cicero,and also two libro mazone de geomantia for Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga.[251] Giuliano Viterbigena also found himself working on some items for Cardinal Francesco,these were a Tractatus grammaticalis, the Carmina differentialia of Guarino da Verona,the Opere of Ovid and two Libro minore di geomantia (which have

been identified among the possessions attributable to the Gonzaga).[252] Matteo Contugi da Volterra entered the service of the Gonzagas not later than 1463 and remained at Mantua at least until the end of 1486.He was responsible for the transcription of the Turin Pliny (begun 1463,finished 1468),there are also works of Petrarch,Plautus and Cicero which may be credited to him,as well as a work (not identifiable) of Appian,a *Canzoniere* and some *Officioli*.[253] Perhaps the most important work for which he was responsible was the De Iciarchia of Alberti.The De Officiis of Cicero was completed during 1463,the *Canzoniere* in 1465,the Appian before 1466 and the De Iciarchia in 1471.[254] The Valerius Maximus attributed to Matteo has not been identified, among the surviving possessions of the Gonzaga.In the last year of Lodovico II Gonzaga's reign as *Marchese*,Johannes Rossus was the calligrapher of a manuscript,in Greek,of the Evangeli for Cardinal Francesco.In addition to this,there was Homer's Iliad,Petrarch's Rime and Trionfi and a codex of Virgil's Elegies.[255] Bartolommeo Sanvito was the calligrapher of the Iliad (in both Greek and Latin versions),Antonio Sinibaldi was involved on the Rime and Trionfi (Matteo Contugi da Volterra had executed the Rime in Greek) and M.A.Aldegatti was the calligrapher of the Elegies.All of these works were for Cardinal Francesco,however,it is not known how well he read Greek (if at all).[256]

Matteo Contugi da Volterra,Bartolommeo Sanvito and Pietro Guindaleri would also work for Federico Gonzaga.The main work that Guindaleri was engaged upon

during the years 1479-84 was the illumination of an *Officiolo grande* for Federico's son,the Protonotary Apostolic Sigismondo Gonzaga (b.1469-d.1525).[257] No commissions can be credited to Margherita of Bavaria who was *Marchesana* for such a short time.

Francesco II Gonzaga has often been compared unfavourably with his father and grandfather as a patron of the arts and letters of his day.In all fairness it has to be said that the domination of his period of rule by military affairs has some bearing here.[258] However,the contrast with Federico and with Lodovico II is no less interesting because of its degree.Francesco would appear to have been content to cede the initiative to Isabella d'Este for most of the time in matters of patronage and intellectual pursuits.This is not to say that Francesco was not sympathetic and appreciative towards the arts;not only is Francesco as valid a candidate for the commissioning of Mantegna's Triumphs of Caesar as his father and grandfather but also Domenico Morone is known to have painted The Expulsion of the Bonacolsi (Museo del Palazzo Ducale,Mantua) for Francesco in 1494.[259] In fact,his patronage saw its strongest expression in sculpture,music and the applied arts.Francesco's larger-than-life-size terracotta bust (c.1498,Museo del Palazzo Ducale,Mantua) was modelled by Gian Cristoforo Romano (b.1465-d.1512);also,the medallists Bartolommeo Melioli (b.1448-d.1514),Gianfrancesco Ruberti della Grana (active 1483-1526) and Gian Marco Cavalli (b.before 1454-d.after 1508) all executed portrait-medals of Francesco,in armour,in a strong classicizing style.[260] In 1510

Francesco took advantage of the availability of good musicians caused by Alfonso d'Este's temporary disbandment of the Este *cappella* to found the first Gonzaga *cappella*.In the following year he established Marchetto Cara as director of music in the chapel of Sta. Maria dei Voti in the cathedral of San Pietro at Mantua.The repertoire was dominated by the works of Josquin des Préz and Obrecht.[261] As far as the applied arts are concerned,the coinage was minted to a high standard during the years 1497-1510 and in design was similar to the medals.[262] The books and poems dedicated to Francesco by Humanist scholars will be looked at shortly.

In Stivini's famous inventory of 1542,compiled three years after Isabella d'Este's death,one hundred and thirty-three items are listed as being in Isabella's library.[263] This document is very much a *terminus post quem*,it can give no indication of precisely when items were commissioned or acquired.Her acquisitivness towards these items was the same as that which she displayed towards the other objects which took her fancy.Lack of money was the only restraint.[264]

A survey of Isabella's correspondence for the years 1492-1506 reveals that a number of calligraphers and illuminators were at work for her at the Gonzaga court.Apart from Pietro Guindaleri there was Carlo Maineri (present from 1498 to 1500) and also Bernardino Mazono who was at work at Mantua from 1497 to 1506.[265] Finally,one may mention Francesco Maineri da Parma,present at Mantua from 1504 to 1506.Maineri was a

calligrapher and an illuminator.Mazono a calligrapher and da Parma an illuminator.[266]

Pietro Guindaleri had been at Mantua mainly for the purpose of illuminating the Turin Pliny.His death in 1506 left the work incomplete.A letter of 17 May 1500 reveals that Carlo Maineri was engaged on two books for Isabella.[267] Bernardino Mazono appears in two letters of 1497 (21 January and 30 October) where he mentions his work as a calligrapher.[268] It is interesting that other letters reveal him as a *segretario* or a *familiaris*.[269] Francesco Maineri da Parma appears in two letters,one of 8 March 1504,the other of 23 June 1506,in both one may learn that he was a painter as well an illuminator.[270]

Some years before Mantegna had arrived at Mantua and before Lodovico Gonzaga had become *Marchese* of Mantua,the city had gained great fame as a centre of Humanist culture through the endeavours of Vittorino Rambaldoni da Feltre (b.1378-d.1446).In 1423 this great Humanist scholar was invited to Mantua by Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, where he set up an academic institution known as the *Ca'Giocosa*.[271] It is unfortunate that although Vittorino da Feltre taught superbly he published relatively little material and any detailed impression of him can only be obtained at second- or third-hand.

Vittorino da Feltre's success would appear to have been such that there was a move to establish a university at Mantua.The *Ca'Giocosa* was to be the foundation of the proposed university.In 1433 Gianfrancesco Gonzaga went as far as to obtain an Imperial privilege licensing the

establishment of the university.Unfortunately,the project was never realized.[272]

The very success enjoyed by Vittorino raises a number of important questions.Not only were all of the Gonzaga children taught by Vittorino but also many others who would figure prominently in the arts of war,the Church,the natural sciences and diplomacy.These pupils included Gianfrancesco Soardi,Federico da Montefeltro, Carlo Brognoli, Lodovico della Torre and Giambattista Pallavicini.[273] Future scholars were also taught at the *Ca'Giocosa*:Gregorio Correr, Jacopo da San Cassiano, Sassolo da Prato, Francesco Castiglione, Giampietro da Lucca, Gregorio Guarino and Giovanni Andrea de'Bussi.[274] One need not doubt the commitment and role of the scholars in the study and dissemination of Humanist culture.It is more interesting and relevant to consider the nature of its manifestation and function in the hands of the *condottieri* of Mantua and elsewhere.

Vittorino's own personal qualities were crucial in the matter of educating and naturalizing his pupils in Humanist culture.Clearly,there was a common ground that could be negotiated by both Vittorino and his patrons and pupils.This common ground would enable a high regard for the literature of Antiquity to be cultivated.The Gonzaga were strategists.The vital necessity here was the effective placement and employment of personnel and material resources.Formal order and deployment would be matters that habitually loomed large in the mind of the Gonzagas.This was not only true of personnel and resources but also in the once numerous and extensive

inventories and *registri* that they had had compiled.[275] The distinctive handwriting of each of those who were responsible for completing the *Inventorio* of 1407 shows that the Gonzaga needed no lessons in the division of labour [Figs.33-37].Formal entertainments also required detailed planning for the needs of guests (and their mounts).[276] Although there is no primary documentary evidnce to confirm this,it is reasonable to suppose that Vittorino would have perceived that minds nourished in this sort of mental environment would be receptive to the clear order and logic of Latin and Greek orthography and also the discipline involved in acquiring an appreciation of the literature of Antiquity.The Gonzaga,for their part,would have thoroughly approved of Vittorino's interest in the martial arts of his day.Amongst other things,Vittorino was a proficient wrestler in his youth and young manhood.[277]

By the time of Mantegna's arrival at Mantua in 1460 the days of Mantuan pre-eminence in Humanist culture were almost over.During the 1460's the *Ca'Giocosa* formally ceased to exist.The building which had accommodated the school was put to other uses (including that of being a storeroom).[278] It is true that scholars of distinction had succeeded Vittorino and would go on doing so up to and beyond Mantegna's death.However,the succession reveals a number of crucial points.The cultural soil in which Vittorino da Feltre had planted the vine of Humanism was a relatively shallow and recently-tilled one.[279] Mantua was comparatively provincial and one may sense a lack of intellectual incentive and stimulation

similar to that which faced Donatello during his years at Padua.[280] The lure of Rome,Florence and the old university cities proved too strong in the long run for all the scholars who taught and wrote at Mantua from 1446 to 1506.Jacopo da San Cassiano and Ognibene da Lonigo were present at Mantua from 1446-49 and 1449-53 respectively, however, Jacopo departed for Rome and Ognibene returned to the University of Vicenza.[281] Bartolommeo Sacchi (Il Platina,so called from his birthplace of Piadena,near Cremona; b.1421-d.1481) replaced Ognibene but left in 1456 for Florence where in the following year he joined the circle of Humanists around Cosimo de'Medici and Marsilio Ficino.It is interesting to note that when Platina went to work in Rome he entered the household of Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga,who protected Platina when he was imprisoned (with other Humanists) for alleged conspiracy against Pope Paul II.In 1475 Platina would be appointed the head of the new Vatican Library by Sixtus IV,a post that he held until his death in 1481.[282] Platina will be returned to later as,together with Alberti,he provides a useful insight into the way in which the Gonzaga wished to be seen in cultural matters.

Platina's departure for Florence heralded a decline in the teaching,study and dissemination of Humanist culture at Mantua.[283] His successors did not stay long:Bartolommeo Marassi (about whom little is known) was present until 1459 but Senofonte Filelfo (eldest son of Francesco Filelfo) had left by 1461.[284] At this time Lodovico II Gonzaga had evidently decided that the

vacancy resulting from Filelfo's departure should not be filled.The most obvious reason was that the son and heir,Federico ,was nearly twenty years of age,the second son,Francesco,had just been appointed Cardinal and would soon be leaving the immediate family circle.The third son,Gianfrancesco (b.1446-d.1496,later Lord of Rodigo and founder of the line of the Gonzaga of Sabbioneta and Bozzolo),was educated in Germany.Thus it was that the succession of scholars resident at Mantua was broken.It would not be resumed for the next twelve years.[285]

During the decade 1473-83 Humanist scholars were once again regularly resident at Mantua.Gaspare Tribraco and Gianfrancesco Gennesi were there from 1473 to 1478.[286] Gianfrancesco was succeeded by Giovanni Maria Filelfo (another son of Francesco Filelfo) who died in 1480.He was followed by Colombino da Verona,resident from 1480 to 1483.[287] In 1483 there was once again a vacancy which *Marchese* Federico had decided should not be filled,the reasons were the same as before.

From the time of Francesco II's accession as *Marchese* of Mantua to that of Mantegna's death in 1506 there would appear to have been no scholarly establishment in the form that would have been recognized by Vittorino da Feltre or by Lodovico II Gonzaga.Nevertheless, there two persons worthy of mention for the years 1484-1506.One is Battista Spagnoli (Baptista Mantuanus),the other is Battista Fiera.[288] Spagnoli (b.1447-d.1516) had been educated in Mantua,in 1463 he entered the Carmelite Order.After teaching for many years in Bologna he lived in Rome and returned to

Mantua in 1489 where he remained until his death.Battista Spagnoli enjoyed fame as a scholar of theology,Greek and the natural sciences.His literary output was enormous,most of it being about moral and spiritual matters.By 1463 Spagnoli had written six of his eight Eclogues;these would be printed in Mantua in 1498 under the title,Adolescentia seu Bucolica.The work treated of love in a Virgilian,pastoral manner.[289]

Battista Fiera (b.1465-d.1538) was also born at Mantua.He studied medicine and logic at Padua,later on he was at Rome in the 1480's and 1490's in the Humanist circle of Pomponio Leto.[290] However,it was at Mantua that Fiera was able to live in the role of court Humanist as well as being a physician.At Mantua,Fiera could give informed advice to Isabella d'Este about such matters as the appearance of Virgil and also write eulogistic poems to Francesco II,such as the Trophaeum Gonzagae pro Gallis Expulsis of 1498 (commemorating Fornovo).[291] As far as eulogistic works are concerned,Alberti and Platina are certainly significant in providing an insight into the cultural image that the Gonzaga wished to display (and in Alberti's case,how a Humanist wished to be seen).Alberti wrote two versions of his famous work on the art of painting;one in Latin,De Pictura,probably written in 1435;the other was in Italian and entitled,Della Pittura,and was written in 1436.This latter version bore a letter of dedication to Filippo Brunelleschi.However,De Pictura,the somewhat fuller of the two versions,was dedicated to Gianfrancesco Gonzaga (b.1395-d.1444),fourth *Capitano* and first *Marchese* of Mantua.In the dedicatory

letter,Alberti praises Gianfrancesco for having a city that is peaceful and well-governed by his *virtù*,such that he is able to take leisure from public affairs to devote himself to his customary pursuit of letters. Gianfrancesco's skill in letters is equal to his glory in arms and to his kindness.Alberti goes on to say that Gianfrancesco would know Alberti best if he arranged for Alberti to join him at Mantua and be regarded as not the least of Gianfrancesco's servants and a devoted member of the Gonzaga household. Alberti's dedication is in no way self-effacing or modest.He is confident that Gianfrancesco will see how much light and learning Alberti has brought to Mantua with his "natural talents and industry" (*ingenio et industria*).[292]

Platina's approach had been similar.Sometime between 1460 and 1470,he wrote a treatise,in Latin,on the princely *virtù* of a noble ruler,entitled De Principe,and dedicated it to Lodovico II Gonzaga in 1471.Another version of the same work,also in Latin,De Optimo Cive,was dedicated to Lorenzo *Il Magnifico* in 1474.It was a eulogy of the civic virtues shown in the person of Lorenzo's grandfather,Cosimo de'Medici. However,what is more interesting is another work that Platina dedicated to Lodovico,the Divi Ludovici Marchionis Mantuae Somnium.It is a short prose piece,in Latin,occupying some fifteen and a half folios.What is presented is a dialogue between Virgil and Lodovico II Gonzaga:Virgil,accompanied by the spirit of sleep (*Sonno*),descends from the Elysian Fields to appear in a dream to Lodovico in order to exhort the *Marchese* to complete a literary work which Lodovico had

begun.but interrupted,because of the campaigns of 1452-53 which led up to the Peace of Lodi in 1454.Virgil praises Lodovico for his proficiency as a leader in both civil and military affairs,as well as being a great patron of the arts.The work ends with Lodovico being given the inspiration to complete his writings.Platina had written this work when he was about thirty-three or thirty-four years of age.However,the surviving original MS (which incorporates a testimonial letter of Sigismondo Golfo,secretary to Lodovico II Gonzaga,that occupes a further fourteen folios) bears the date 12 January 1484.[293]

In spite of the twelve-year absence of resident Humanist scholars at the time of Mantegna's arrival at Mantua,the artist would have undoubtedly become aware of the legacy and achievements of Vittorino da Feltre.He would also have become acquainted with the contents of the Gonzagas' library (which Vittorino had charge of during his time at Mantua).The contents of this library would have been augmented by the translations of Greek works (including Archimedes) undertaken by Jacopo da San Cassiano,and by the editions of Lucan,Sallust and Quintilian (along with treatises on grammar and verse) written by Ognibene da Lonigo.

Although the contents of a library are by no means a reliable guide to the literary tastes of its owner,it may be reasonably seen as an indication of his or her scholarly or cultural aspirations.The contents of the Gonzaga library will bear a little examination.The origins of this library can be traced back to the time of

Luigi Gonzaga,the first *Capitano* of Mantua.[294] There was a steady acquisition of works from Luigi's time up to that of Francesco I.These works consisted of items from Antique literature,chivalric themes and history.From the correspondence of the court one learns that in 1366 there was a French codex,a Guilielmus de Orenga (mentioned later in 1376) and a Meliadusius (mentioned later in 1371).In 1367 a Liber Guroni was mentioned;in 1369 a Tito Livio in lingua francigena (mentioned again in 1376),which interestigly enough,was not recorded in the *Inventario* of 1407.In 1371 a Liber Aspremontis was mentioned,in 1373 a Cretus,in 1374 the works of Sallust,in 1376 the Naturalis Historia of Pliny and in the following year the De Mirabilibus Mundi of Solino and the Troianus.Finally,in 1379 one finds mention of the Golden Ass of Apuleius and a Speculum Historiarum;in 1382 a Valerius Maximus and the Tragedies of Seneca.Perhaps mention should also be made of a History of the Goths and Lombards,recorded in 1371,and regarded as a copy of an earlier codex.[295]

Thus one arrives at the year 1407 and the succession of Gianfrancesco Gonzaga as the fifth *Capitano* of Mantua.In that year an extensive *Inventario* was made of all the effects of Francesco I.[296] The section dealing with the Gonzaga library lists some 392 works of which 293 were in Latin,67 in French and 32 in Italian (*in volgare*).It is interesting to note that not only was the number of works in French greater than that of those in Italian but also that the proportion of works in French would remain greater than that in the libraries of the

Visconti of Milan (64 works in French out of a total of 988,in 1426) or of the d'Estes of Ferrara (57 works in French out of a total of 279,in 1436).One may be quite certain that the Gonzagas were keen collectors and readers of French fiction.Of the 67 manuscripts in French,44 were concerned with fiction.This portion included 22 *chansons de geste* of the so-called Charlemagne Cycle and 17 Arthurian romances,not forgetting the Lancelot in prose.[297] The high proportion of this kind of literature among the Gonzaga collection of codices in French would appear to indicate the strong appeal of the ideals and values of feudal French chivalric society for the Gonzagas.[298] By the 1430's the Gonzaga library would contain twice as many manuscripts of chivalric literature in French as the Viscontis and the d'Estes respectively.It should not be forgotten that Lodovico II Gonzaga was still regularly reading the Lancelot romances in 1468 and had to write to Borso d'Este to ask for the return of the work (as Borso was not diligent in returning books that he borrowed).[299] The popularity of chivalric literature was by no means diminished by the ascendency of Humanist culture.It is,however,by no means ascertainable as to what extent Federico and Francesco II Gonzaga were interested in chivalric works.

The correspondence of the Mantuan court is abundant in references to codices which Lodovico II acquired or had transcribed,corrected or illuminated. In 1459 the *Marchese* had the opportunity to add to the Humanist items in his library.The great Humanist and scholar,Aurispa,had

died at Ferrara.[300] Shortly afterwards,in a letter of 17 January 1461,Bartolommeo Brunacci urged Lodovico to acquire Aurispa's entire library.[301] It is most unlikely that the *Marchese* could have afforded the cost that would be involved in obtaining the whole collection of books and manuscripts.However,there is no doubt that Lodovico intended to make the best of the opportunity by enlarging his collection of works in Greek.Gregorio Tifernate was duly sent to Ferrara with instructions that he should buy for Lodovico's sons any Greek manuscripts that he could.[302] A letter from Tifernate to Lodovico (19 May 1461) listed the Greek works that Tifernate had managed to acquire from Aurispa's library.These items were the Suida (or Suda) in two volumes,a Commentary on Demosthenes' Orations,the Orations of Aristides,the Biblioteca Historica of Diodorus Siculus,a Commentary on Homer in two volumes and,finally,four unspecified texts which bore dedications to Lodovico.[303] The total cost involved was sixty ducats.The *Marchese* said in his reply to Tifernate (Milan,24 May 1461) that he was very pleased at what had been done and that he would endeavour to raise the money required.[304] There is no explicit confirmatory evidence for the safe arrival of these items at Mantua,however,the tenor of Lodovico's later reply would appear to indicate that they had.[305]

There is no hard documentary evidence to indicate what books or manuscripts were acquired by Federico Gonzaga.In cultural matters he has invariably suffered by comparison with his father,Lodovico II.By all accounts his intellectual attainments were not particularly

distinguished.[306] Federico had been taught by Platina between 1453 and 1456;just prior to that his teacher was Ognibene da Lonigo and it is intertesting to note that Ognibene dedicated his small book,De Octo Partibus Orationis to Federico.However,it is two letters of Francesco Filelfo that indicate starkly that Federico had not much aptitude for scholarly pursuits.The first letter diplomatically stated that Federico had hidden qualities that needed careful handling to bring out.[307] Two years later,in 1459,the tone was frank and uncomplimentary:both Lodovico II and Barbara of Brandenburg were accused of neglecting Federico's education.[308] There was no attempt to deny the accusation on the part of a Humanist who was notoriously antagonistic in his views.By this time Federico would have been eighteen;Senofonte Filelfo would not have been at the *Ca'Giocosa* for long enough to remedy matters to any significant extent.However,Federico made conspicuous efforts to understand the epic poems sent to him by Mario Filelfo,also,other Humanists besides Ognibene da Lonigo dedicated works to Federico.These Humanists were Attavanti,Platina,Giovanni Lucido Cataneo, Lelio, Manfredi and P.Broccando.The works dedicated to Federico were Attavanti's Historia Urbis Mantuae Gonzagaeque Familiae (a eulogistic account of the role the Gonzagas played as defenders of the Mantuan state and as patrons of the arts and letters), Platina's De Principe, Cataneo's Epicedion, Manfredi's Poema in Terza Rima and Broccando's Poema de bello strage et obitu Caroli Burgundiae Ducis.[309] Federico also created two *studioli* where he collected and studied antiques,and it

is possible that Federico commissioned the Triumphs of Caesar from Mantegna.Nevertheless,it cannot be forgotten that Federico's most significant role as patron was in the *Rinovatio Urbis*.He commissioned Luca Fancelli to build the *Domus Nova* at Mantua in 1480.[310]

There is little to say about Margherita of Bavaria as a patron.As *Marchesana* of Mantua she lived for only one year and four months.It appears unlikely that she commissioned any literary works of a Humanist nature.Her personal effects are recorded in the Archivio Gonzaga;as far as literature is concerned the list is entirely of works of a theological or devotional nature (including some in German).[311]

Francesco Gonzaga also had books dedicated to him.These works dealt mainly with horses,falconry and agricultural science.These books clearly indicate an interest in "outdoor" pursuits.They are all very derivative in nature and reveal the relative stagnation that prevailed in many areas of learning during the Renaissance.One may see very clearly this combination of Antique and mediaeval knowledge in Zanino di Ottolengo's Delle infirmità delli cavalli (Mantua,c.1484).Giulio Prudenzio was the probable author of the Libro de piaceri et doctrina de ocelli (Mantua,1500) which was dependent on Emperor Frederick II's De arte venendi cum avibus and the writings of Albertus Magnus.The treatise on agriculture (Mantua,c.1500) was a copy of Pietro de' Crescenzi da Bologna's Rei Rustici libri duodecim (Bologna,1303-04),drafted and illuminated by a follower

of Bartolomeo Sanvito.This work drew on Antique examples and practical experience on de'Crescenzi's estate.[312]

The final major matter of Gonzaga patronage to be considered is that of architecture.It can never be forgotten that the Gonzaga conducted a programme of civil and military architectural projects that was virtually continuous from the time of the earliest *Capitani* and throughout Mantegna's time at Mantua to the ending of the Gonzaga dynasty in 1708.[313] There could have been few times when Mantegna could not have been aware that the city he had arrived in, in 1460, was the object of an all-embracing plan of the expression of the prince's authority through the medium of an assertive, architectonic Humanism.The key figures here are Lodovico II, Federico, Francesco II, Leon Battista Alberti,Antonio Manetti and Luca Fancelli.[314]

The architectural programme executed during the years 1444-60 says much about the effective use of resources and the relationship that existed between the patrons and the Humanist scholars and architects.At first sight,the situation was not favourable to the execution of ambitious architectural projects,also the environment was often hardly comfortable.The lack of local stone and sufficient funds,the plague and malarial fever of summer,and the cold rain and damaging frost of winter would have daunted many an aspiring patron and architect.[315] The Gonzagas were perceptive enough to exploit adversity to advantage.

The main building-components that could be produced locally and in quantity in order to create the impressive

effects so desired by the Gonzagas were brick,stucco and terracotta.[316] Whenever stone was needed it was used minimally and ornamentally and transported over the shortest possible distance.Thus it was that quarries at Verona provided the red marble for Lodovico's new palace at Revere (1451-58),those in Vicentine territory the hard white stone for Alberti's church of San Sebastiano (begun,1460) and those near Venice the Istrian stone for the votive chapel that Francesco II commissioned from Pietro Lombardo,following the Battle of Fornovo.Brick construction saved time and money for a dynasty which had a large building programme,a relatively small income and (especially in the case of Lodovico II) was in a hurry to complete all projects.It also enabled Alberti's striking designs to be carried out with greater facility.

Lodovico II's period of rule began with his improvement of the security and communications of the Mantovano by renovating existing fortifications and roads,as well as building some new ones.[317] However,Lodovico was soon involved in the *Rinovatio Urbis*.Although it was obviously impossible to re-design and rebuild the entire city of Mantua according to Humanist principles of *ordo* and *ratio*,individual projects could express it (including cosmetic modifications of existing buildings, such as the Palazzo del Podestà) and the streets could be decently paved (not,unfortunately, completed by the time of Pius II's arrival in Mantua).From 1460,to Lodovico's death in 1478,Mantua saw building activity of an intensity quite phenomenal for a small city.Apart from Alberti's projects for the church

of San Sebastiano,the demolition (and re-erection) of the Romanesque Rotunda di San Lorenzo (as part of a scheme to create a new piazza,but not carried out) and the final scheme for Sant'Andrea.there was Manetti's original project for Sant'Andrea (1462-64,angrily rejected by Lodovico II),and the re-building of the Casa del Mercato from Luca Fancelli's design (begun in 1462) with the supervision of the building of the Torre dell'Orologio (1470).[318]

It is the construction of the church of Sant'Andrea (the foundation-stone of which was laid by Lodovico II on 12 June 1472) which illustrates clearly the relationship of architect to patron and the somewhat controversial astuteness of the Gonzaga in using architecture and church politics to serve the interests of the state.The site for the proposed church was occupied in large part by the old Benedictine Abbey of Sant'Andrea.The Abbey housed the reliquary containing the Precious Blood of Christ.[319] On Ascension Day many pilgrims would come to Mantua in order to see and pay homage to the Relic,which was not only a source of immense prestige but also of income from the pilgrims.Lodovico II Gonzaga ostensibly wished to renovate the shops owned by the Abbey,but his real motives went far beyond this:they were the eventual seizing of the revenues of the Abbey and gaining the sole custody of the Relic of the Precious Blood.In 1460,the Marchese began a series of shrewd manoeuvres to achieve this end.Diplomatic negotiations were undertaken with the Holy See,in the course of which Lodovico accused the monks of the Abbey of Sant'Andrea of being negligent in

their adoration of the Precious Blood.[320] In 1446,Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga was appointed Administrator Apostolic of Mantua,thus removing the Bishop of Mantua from any position of influence in local religious affairs.However, Abbot Nuvoloni proved an able opponent in the negotiations.His objections to Lodovico's plans were thoroughly reasonable,not least about where the monks (and other persons) were to be housed if or when the monastery was suppressed.[321] The situation was finally resolved with the death of the Abbot in March 1470.In that year the Abbey was placed under the direct authority of Cardinal Francesco.The appointment of the Cardinal as *Primicerius* of the collegiate church (formed from the Abbey of Sant'Andrea) in 1472 completed the process of the suppression of the monastery.The Gonzagas now had complete control of the revenues and resources of the estates of the former Abbey.By having possession of the Precious Blood of Christ,Lodovico was able to use it as an essential link between the city and the state while giving material expression of transcendent evidence of the absolute power of the Gonzagas.

Such a relic as the Precious Blood had to be housed in a building worthy of it.In October 1470 Alberti had offered his ideas for the new church of Sant'Andrea to Lodovico in place of Manetti's design.Alberti's oft-quoted letter (probably written on 21 or 22 October 1470) and Lodovico's equally well-known reply (23 October 1470) illustrate clearly the easy,intimate relationship that existed between the two men.It should not be forgotten that Alberti had visited Mantua on three occasions;in

1459.1463 (for a lengthy stay) and 1470.[322] Alberti was a Humanist thoroughly accustomed to mixing in the highest social circles of his time.He was able to count Lodovico II Gonzaga as being not only a patron but also a personal friend.Alberti's letter displays not only the greatest economy of expression in his criticsm of Manetti's design but also clear appreciation of the practical issues of the choice of building-materials. Lodovico,for his part, would have been impressed by Alberti's *dictum* that a building must not only be beautiful but also sound in relation to function as well as structure,realistically-priced and built of local materials.The *Marchese* could possibly have been reminded of what he might well have read in De re aedificatoria.

The foundation-stone of the new church of Sant'Andrea was laid by the *Marchese* Lodovico II Gonzaga himself on 12 June 1472.Neither Lodovico nor Alberti would ever live to see the project completed (in fact,Juvara's great dome was not finished until 1785).[323] However,it is noteworthy that the building-work began in an unusual way:after the foundations had been dug and laid,work began on the facade,not on the apse (as was customary).By 1494 both the facade and the nave were completed.Thus it was that Lodovico did at least see a potent landmark of the *Rinovatio Urbis* begin to make an impression on the urban landscape of Mantua.

Although *Marchese* Federico Gonzaga reigned for only six years he commissioned the imposing building called the *Domus Nova* from Luca Fancelli in 1480.This project had been intended to be a fine new residence for the

Marchese.However,he did not live long enough to see it in any way completed.Federico also continued with the building of the churches of Sant'Andrea and San Sebastiano.However,his financial scope was limited as Lodovico II had saddled Federico with considerable debts to the Medici (and others).[324]

With the accession of Francesco II all work on the *Domus Nova* ceased.It would not be resumed for a long time.The work on Sant'Andrea would continue but only because of the entreaties and efforts of the building-committee.Francesco's chief building-project was the palace of San Sebastiano.This building was situated opposite the church of San Sebastiano and was constructed in part from material intended for the church itself.[325]

It is tempting to say that Francesco II was not as interested or committed to architectural projects as his father and grandfather.However,the fact is that Francesco had appreciably less need to commission projects than his predecessors.Mantua was now provided with a good number of fine buildings and the streets were well-paved.It was well that this was so,for besides frequent and onerous military commitments, Francesco was still in debt to the Medici.This shortage of ready funds for architectural and artistic commissions is all too obviously seen in the proposed project for a votive chapel after the Battle of Fornovo.The matter went no further than the cutting and preparation of the Istrian stone by Pietro Lombardo.[326] Also,Francesco may not have been happy about the way in which the Jew,Daniele da Norsa,was treated following his removing of a fresco of The Virgin attended by saints

(for which action da Norsa had obtained permission) from the front of his house;however,the 110 ducat fine provided welcome payment for Mantegna's Madonna della Vittoria.[327]

This survey of Gonzaga patronage would not be complete without a look at the way they expressed themselves through *imprese* and through their funerary monuments.In both cases one sees the bringing together of the expressive and the pragmatic.The *imprese* saw their manifestation and expression in the majolica tiles ordered by Isabella d'Este in January 1493 (through Giovanni Sforza of Pesaro) from Antonio dei Fedeli.[328] The native clays of the *Mantovano* were not suitable for majolica (however good they may have been for bricks) and most of the majolica items ordered by Isabella came from her native city of Ferrara.The consignment in question here was ordered for Francesco II's villa at Marmirolo and comprised a large number of heavy tiles to be used for surfacing the floors of a room in the villa.[329] The tiles were tin-glazed and decorated with the *devise* used by Isabella and Francesco (most of these had also been used by earlier generations of the Gonzaga).The *devise* and the *motti* which accompanied them on the designs reciprocally interpreted one another.

Eight examples have survived from the 1493 consignment.The first design is a sun encircled by a scroll which carries the motto *Per un [sol] dexir* ("For a single desire"),the second is a gauntlet with the motto (in Spanish) *Buena fe non es mudable* ("Good faith is unchangeable",or unbendable).These two examples are

obvious ones of semantic and visual wit matched together.The third design is an island in the form of a tiered mountain topped by a diamond or short obelisk,the island being surrounded by flaming brands and with the motto *AMVMOC* (i.e. *AMOMOS*),meaning "Blameless".The fourth is a deer,with the motto (in German),*Bider Craft* (or *Graft*),meaning "Righteous Power".The fifth example consists of a dove perched on a tree-trunk (which is coiled,and smoking) with the motto (in French),*Vrai amour ne se change* ("True love does not change").The sixth design is a large dog muzzle,inscribed with the Latin motto,*Cautius* ("More cautious" or "More secure").The last two designs consist,respectively,of the Gonzaga crest quartered with the lions of Bohemia and a white hound seated on a rock in watchful attitude.The first three *imprese* were originally adopted by Lodovico II,Federico and Margherita of Bavaria used the third example.The fourth was first used by Francesco I and later by Barbara of Brandenburg who also adopted the fifth.Francesco II first used the sixth example,while as far as the last two are concerned,the latter was adopted by Gianfrancesco Gonzaga (father of Lodovico II) and the former had been used by all Gonzagas from the time of the first *Capitano*.Luigi.[330]

Not all of the consignment ordered in 1493 was used at Marmirolo.Isabella used a portion of it to decorate the floor of her *studiolo* in the Castello di San Giorgio.The reason for this action was not merely aesthetic;it was practical:the Castello di San Giorgio was subject to periodic infestations of mice (which

nested under the old wooden floors).[331] Isabella commissioned another set of floor-tiles,this time for her own exclusive use.These may also have been executed by Antonio dei Fedeli,although this is debatable.Unlike the earlier set,these tiles are varied in shape and make a pattern of octagons with small squares and triangles (for the spaces where the main octagonal tiles abutted against the wall) as an infilling between them.[332] The main tiles are decorated with a regular pattern in white, blue,orange-brown and turquoise.The colours fill the spaces delineated by the linked circles that surround the central white circular space.Within the central space, each octagonal tile carries one of the following inscriptions: *ISAB[ella] / ESTE[ensis] M[a]R[chesana] /MAN[tuae]*, *NEC/SPE NEC/METV* ("Neither in hope nor in fear"), *YS[abella]* and *XXVII* (i.e. *Vinti sette*, a pun on *Vinti siete*-"you are defeated").It is generally agreed among scholars that the style of these tiles would date them later than 1510.[333] The possibility remains that they could have been used as the floor-surface of Isabella d'Este's second *studiolo* (begun in 1506 or 1508) as the inscriptions displayed on both tiles and the *studiolo* ceiling correspond.

Isabella's influence in matters of patronage was felt right from the time of her arrival at Mantua in 1490.Her all-embracing support for the arts,letters and music is significant insofar as it is so clearly the expression of a distinct state of mind.Isabella may have been thoroughly tutored in the literature of Antiquity (and particularly in Latin) during her childhood and

early teenage years.However,proficiency in youth is no guarantee of the same in adulthood.[334] Moreover,affairs of state soon ensured that Isabella's attentions would be diverted from her books.The repeated references to Isabella's earnest efforts to re-polish rusty scholarship should be set in the context of the markedly unstable and dangerous political situation that prevailed before and after Fornovo.[335] The same Isabella who commissioned allegorical works from Mantegna,Bellini,Perugino and Costa was compelled to exert all her diplomatic skills to safeguard the Mantovano.It would,nevertheless,be untrue to say that Isabella's approach to the study of Antiquity and Humanist culture was necessarily rendered pedantic by periodic bouts of conscientious study.[336] What is more relevant (and the bulk of Isabella's correspondence for the years 1490-1506 confirms this) is that one is witnessing the efforts a mind rapidly matured and wearied by the affairs of state to undertake the intellectual pursuits of a childhood and youth unburdened by responsibility.[337]

Throughout the fifteenth century (and certainly from the time of Federico and Lodovico II) the Gonzaga had had *studioli* where it was possible to withdraw from state affairs and engage in quiet study and contemplation. However,it was Isabella d'Este who set up a *studiolo* and a *grotta* that were appreciably more elaborate than any that had preceded them.It is the circumstances and method of the setting-up of these chambers,together with the collections of books and works of art that they eventually housed,that have provoked much discussion.What

is unfortunate here is that some scholars have been side-tracked in various attempts to reconstruct or assess Isabella's personality.[338] This is a frankly futile and irrelevant exercise if it is merely concerned with how ingratiating Isabella d'Este would have been on intimate acquaintance,although one may pinpoint a few episodes in her activity as a collector that are unedifying or amusing.[339]

The central issue is that the *studiolo* and the *grotta* performed what was an essentially contradictory role:being private and public at one and the same time.Also,as far as the collection itself is concerned,the paintings were far outnumbered by the antique statues and gems as well as by the books.[340] More significantly, in her correspondence ,Isabella's attitude to painting is clearly shown in her desire to commission compositions by the best and most famous masters of her day.Reputation mattered more than artistic and technical proficiency;there was no attempt to back a good but little-known artist.[341]

Some scholars have seen Isabella's activities as patron and collector as revealing a dilemma in her role and position as a woman at court.[342] This position not only required the reconciliation of opposite duties (public visibility and private chastity) but also the pursuit of cultural activities in a way that did not contravene accepted ideals of a noblewoman's conduct.[343] Thus it was that whilst Isabella could collect antique sculptures and gems on a scale equal to or greater than that exercised by male members of the nobility,emulating

their efforts in the disciplines of Humanist culture was another matter.[344] The commissioning of paintings that dealt with themes or subjects from Antique mythology in a broadly-moralizing manner was one way of displaying erudition in Humanist culture while not infringing upon male territory.[345]

It has to be said,however,that the practical issues of circumstance leave this view open to question.One only has to see the suffixes to the addresses written on the reverse of letters by Isabella and sent to Francesco II, from just before Fornovo and up to the time of Mantegna's death in 1506,in order to appreciate the effects of the "nomadic" life led by Francesco II.[346] The *Marchese's* long periods spent in the field,away from Mantua,often necessitated an urgent inquiry or response from Isabella about many matters.At Mantua,Isabella had no choice but to fill the courtly cultural function which would normally have been performed by her husband.It is unfortunate that no authentic and detailed comparison of Isabella's rôle here may be made with that of her contemporaries among Italian noblewomen.The disparity in the amount of surviving primary documentary evidence relating to Isabella and to her contemporaries, respectively,is just too great for this to be possible.[347] If Isabella's political and diplomatic circumstances had been the same as (or similar to) those of Barbara of Brandenburg and of Margherita of Bavaria,her style of patronage would have been more markedly defined by her relationship to Francesco II.Any

"re-defining" of Isabella's cultural role is contingent and adventitious.

Eleonora of Aragon will bear some comparison with Isabella d'Este.She was known to be greatly interested in the arts and letters,and also to be a proficient player of the harp.During Ercole d'Este's absence from Ferrara because of the war with Venice (1482-84) Eleonora assumed full command of state affairs.She commissioned portraits from Cosimo Tura of her daughters Lucrezia,Isabella and Beatrice,and also of her infant son,Alfonso.These portraits were painted between 1472 and 1485.A Virgin and Child attended by Cherubim (1485-92),now in the Galleria di Brera,was also commissioned by Eleonora.Much debate rages as to whether Mantegna or Giovanni Bellini was responsible for the work.Any works illuminated for Eleonora would have been breviaries (and possibly romances) about which there is no hard evidence that they would have been for her exclusive use.In contrast with Isabella d'Este,Eleonora's library consisted almost entirely of religious works and French chivalric romances. However,she is credited with commissioning a History of the Kingdom of Naples (dedicated to Ercole d'Este) from the Humanist,Pandolfo Collenuccio.[348]

It is from the primary documents that one may gain a more relevant insight into Isabella's state of mind.In her descriptions of important social events,such as the marriage celebrations of Alfonso d'Este to Lucrezia Borgia (1502),Isabella's letters provide one with an account that is as much an inventory as a narrative description.[349] Not only this but also the handwriting in

which Isabella's letters were drafted makes interesting contrast with that of the other members of the Gonzaga family.The handwriting of all the Gonzagas (and their consorts),from the time of Lodovico II,displays little variation over their lifetimes [Figs.37-47].In style what may be seen is a cursive *italic* script.However, that of Isabella d'Este shows quite a marked variation over the relevant years 1490-1506 [Figs. 48-57].The main variation takes the form of either a sweeping,cursive *italic* style or a tight round hand.It is evident that Isabella saw handwriting style as important in conveying a desired image,preferably one that was of elegance and exclusiveness.This matter would be further support for the view that Isabella was markedly self-conscious about appearances.It may have some bearing on the question of the "intellectual eye" through which Isabella saw Humanist culture.

The Gonzaga were as attentive to their posthumous image as to that which they cultivated during their lifetimes.Not least in this matter was the care to display humility and austerity in death.The last wills and testaments that have survived make this clear,no matter in which church they were buried or whether the manner of burial was a free-standing tomb,a wall-sepulchre,or in the floor of a church.[350] It is most unfortunate that nothing remains of the tombs that were made to commemorate the Gonzagas who ruled Mantua from 1328 to 1627.They either disappeared in the course of architectural alterations or were simply destroyed.[351] One may note that Mantegna was commissioned to design the

tomb for Barbara of Brandenburg.However,the project was not carried out and the drawing for the proposed design has not survived.[352]

In their manner of patronage the Gonzaga did not differ much from the d'Estes,the Visconti,the Sforza and the Montefeltri.Architecture occupied the lion's share of resources as this was the most effective means of impressing authority on the environment, subject peoples and visiting diplomats.The amount that could be spent on sculpture (commissioned and/or collected),painting and literary works was governed by how much remained after architectural projects had been undertaken.Architecture, and the applied arts as manifested in coins and medals.formed that essential cultural parenthesis (embracing sculpture,painting and literature) that physically expressed the legitimacy of the rule of the Gonzagas and their peers in the most immediate way.

Painting and sculpture constituted a more intimate and subtle expression of taste and authority.In this matter the Humanist scholars and men of letters employed by the Gonzagas (and their peers) make an interesting contrast with painters and sculptors,as they do with architects and builders.At the most fundamental level there was a close kinship of approach between the Gonzagas and the architects,and the artists that were in their patronage.Affairs of state and of the field,and of architecture and the arts were essentially practical in method and consequence.An astute insight into the handling of personnel and resources was vital,so that people and materials could be matched as exactly as

possible to their particular functions.The Humanists were at one remove from this situation as their work was essentially abstract and theoretical, although it saw its physical manifestation in books and manuscripts.However, the Humanist men of letters dealt in ideas and images which could be translated into visual terms.For the most part,this process allowed patron and artist to exercise freedom of expression.The point of interest here is how and to what extent this freedom of expression of states of mind overlapped and constituted a reconciliation of those states of mind.

The patronage exercised by the Gonzagas was a public and aesthetic expression of dynastic legitimacy and authority through minds that responded to the issues and the problems that they faced in a manner that was practical,direct and realistic.The limitations were those of size,of wealth and of influence.One may especially note in this regard Isabella d'Este's failure to secure any completed commission from Leonardo and to impose her will and authority on such artists as Bellini when they were outside the Mantovano.[353]

Footnotes to Chapter 1

1.Coniglio,G;I Gonzaga, Milan, 1967, Varese, 1987, pp. 7-8. Idem: Mantova.La storia, 3 Vols, Mantua, 1958-63, Vol.I (Dalle origini a Gianfrancesco primo Marchese), 1958,p.324.Cattafesta,M;Mantovastoria dalle palefitte ai tempi nostri,Mantua,1974,1984,pp.67,145. Matteucci,V; Le chiese artistiche del mantovano, Mantua, 1902, p.196. Bellodi,R;Il Monastero di San Benedetto in Polirone nella storia e nell'arte, Mantua,1905, pp.132-35. Possevino,A;Gonzaga,Mantua,1628,p.43. Luzio,A;"I Corradi di Gonzaga signori di Mantova",Archivio storico lombardo,ser.IV,Vol.XL,1913,pp.249-82,131-83. Coniglio remains the standard work on the Gonzaga;Cattafesta is less detailed but has an incomparable bibliography covering all aspects of the history of the Gonzaga from 1328 to 1708.

2.Mahnke,E.W.(E.Swain);The Political Career of a Condottiere-Prince:Lodovico Gonzaga 1444-1466,unpublished Ph.D.diss.Harvard,1975,p.389ff.

3.Coniglio,1967,1987,passim.Cattafesta,1974,1984,passim. Mozzarelli,C;Mantova e i Gonzaga dal 1382 al 1707,Turin,1987,passim.

4.Coniglio,1967,1987,pp.15-16.1958,pp.321-28,331-32,342-53,364-77,381-401.Cattafesta,1974,1984,pp.139,147-49. Vaini,M.;"La spada e l'argento.I Gonzaga nel secolo XIV",in,Guerre,Stati e Città.Mantova e l'Italia Padana dal secolo XIII al XIX.Atti delle Giornate di Studio in omaggio ad Adele Bellù.Mantova 12-13 dicembre 1986.(Eds. C.M.Belfanti,F.F.D'Onofrio and D.Ferrari), Mantua,1988, pp.103-32.(Guerre,Stati e Città,1988).

5.Coniglio,1967,1987,pp.15-16. Cattafesta,1974,1984,pp.147-49.Torelli,P;"Capitanato del Popolo e vicariato imperiale come elementi costituivi della Signoria Bonacolsiana",Atti e Memorie della R.Accademia Virgiliana di Mantova,n.s.,Vols XIV-XVI,Mantua,1921-23,Vol.XVI,p.83.Mase,F;"Notizie storiche di Castel d'Ario",Archivio storico Veronese,Vol.VIII,Fasc.XXIV,Verona,1881,pp.13-14.

6.Coniglio,1958,p.322.

7.Ibid.,pp.117-320.

8.Coniglio,1967,1987,p.16.

9.Ibid.,p.16.

10.Ibid.,pp.25-28.

11.Ibid.,pp.29-37,41.

12.Ibid.,p.50.

13.Ibid.,p.50.

14.Ibid.,p.52.

15.Ibid.,pp.81,91.Lanzoni,G;Sulle nozze di Federico I Gonzaga con Margherita di Wittelsbach 1463, Milan,1898, Ch.1.

16.Coniglio,1967,1987,pp.101-02.

17.Ibid.,p.103.

18.Ibid.,p.49.Idem,p.449.Tarducci,F;"Gianfrancesco Gonzaga signore di Mantova (1407-1420)",Archivio storico lombardo,Vol.XXIX,1902,pp.356-58.

19.Coniglio,1967,1987,p.49.1958,p.449.

20.Ibid.,p.49.Ibid.,p.449.

21.Ibid.,p.49.Ibid.,pp.424,449.Mallett,M;"Venice and its Condottieri,1404-54",Renaissance Venice,Ed.J.R.Hale,

London,1973,p.128.Simeoni,L;Le signorie. Milan,1950, p.595.Pieri,P;Il Rinascimento e la crisi militare italiana,Naples,1934,Turin,1952,pp.258-63,288-90.Bueno de Mesquita,D.M.;"Some Condottieri of the Trecento and Their Relations with Political Authority",Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol.XXXII, London, 1946,pp.219-42. Queller,D.E.;The Office of Ambassador in the Middle Ages,Princeton,1967,pp.74-75.Mahnke,1975,pp.33-35. There is still some dispute over the exact nature of the meaning of *condotte* drawn up during the fifteenth century.Some authors (Coniglio,Simeoni) often refer to these *condotte* as signifying alliances.As far as the Gonzaga are concerned,the concept of a contract of military service is more appropriate,with all its implications of service to a greater power or more senior family.It is especially the case that a *condotta* implies a bond of service that is personal,whereas an alliance is more impersonal in nature,often signifying a formal recognition of mutual interest between states of equal power.

22.Coniglio,1967,1987,p.49;1958,p.449.

23.Ibid.,p.49;Ibid.,1958,p.449.

24.Ibid.,p.49.Mazzoldi,L;Mantova.La storia,Vol.2 (Da Ludovico secondo marchese a Francesco secondo duca),Mantua,1961,pp.449-50.Torelli,P;Un comune cittadino in territorio ad economia agricola,2 Vols,Mantua,1930, 1952,Vol.I,1930,pp.138-39,200-01,288-89.

25.Coniglio,1967,1987,p.49,1958,p.450.Torelli,1930,p.201.

26.Coniglio,1967,1987,p.49,1958,p.450.

27.Footnote 13.

28.Coniglio,1967,1987,pp.50-51,1958,pp.451-53.

29.Ibid.,pp.50-51,Ibid.,p.453.

30.Ibid.,pp.50-51,Ibid.,p.453.

31.Ibid.,pp.50-51,Ibid.,p.453.

32.Coniglio,1967,1987,p.51.

33.Ibid.,pp.50-51.

34.Ibid.,pp.52-89.Mazzoldi,1961,pp.3-35.
Cattafesta.1974,1984,pp.160-65.Mozzarelli,1987,pp.22-36.

35.Coniglio,1967,1987,pp.52-89.Mazzoldi,1961,pp.3-35.
Cattafesta,1974,1984,pp.163-64.
Amadei,G;Marani,E;Pratico,G;Cronaca universale della città di Mantova,2 Vols,Mantua,1954-55,
Vol.II,1955,pp.226-34.Aliprandi,B;Cronica de Mantua,Mantua,n.d.,B.C.Mn.,ms.9[AI9],c.179v.

36.Woods-Marsden,J;The Gonzaga of Mantua and Pisanello's Arthurian Frescoes, Princeton, 1988,passim. Letts,R.M. Decoration or Chronicle:the function of the Pisanello frescoed room in the Palazzo Ducale of Mantua,paper presented at the Symposium "The Court of the Gonzaga in the Age of Mantegna 1450-1550"(sic),R.A.,London,6-8 March,1992.Toesca,I;"Lancaster e Gonzaga:il fregio della sala del Pisanello nel Palazzo Ducale di Mantova",Civiltà mantovana,VII,Mantua,1973,pp.361-77. Idem;"A Frieze by Pisanello",Burlington Magazine,CXVI,London,1974,pp.210-14.Idem; "More about the Pisanello Murals at Mantua", Burlington Magazine,CXVIII,1976, pp.622-29. Idem;"Altre osservazioni in margine alle pitture del Pisanello nel Palazzo Ducale di Mantova",Civiltà mantovana,XI,1977, pp.349-76.There is considerable dispute over the exact date of execution of Pisanello's frescoes.Woods-Marsden

argues for the later date (c.1450) on the grounds that the style of the frescoes is similar to the designs for medals that Pisanello made for the Marchese Lodovico II in 1447.Also,that the collars displayed on the frescoes are of the Order of Our Lady of the Swan.This Order was set up by the Elector Frederick II of Brandenburg.Letts has criticised Woods-Marsden's thesis by pointing out that important dynastic events were taking place at Mantua in 1436 and that celebrations (including tournaments) were held to mark them.The most important event was the granting of permission by Henry VI of England to Gianfrancesco Gonzaga for the investing of a further fifty knights with the Insignia of the Royal Lancastrian Livery.This number of collars could certainly have been portrayed in the available wall-space of the sala.Letts is following Toesca here in saying that the collars depicted are of this livery.More significantly,Pisanello was permanently domiciled at the Palazzo Ducale from early 1439 to late 1442 and following the failure of Gianfrancesco's campaign to expand into the Veneto,Pisanello (who had served in the Gonzaga forces) was declared an enemy of the Venetian Republic by the Venetian Senate.The result was that Pisanello suffered the loss of his property and was forbidden to set foot again in Verona and Mantua.At the end of 1442 Pisanello settled in Ferrara and had his personal belongings sent to him by Gianfrancesco Gonzaga.

37.Coniglio,1967,1987,pp.52-89.Mazzoldi,1961,pp.3-35. Mahnke,1975,pp.1-4,385-406.Signorini,R.;"Dalla Presa di Brescia (1426) alla Pace di Lodi (1454).Notizie di guerra nelle memorie del mercante Mantovano Gianfrancesco Maloselli",Guerre,Stati e Città,1988,pp.187-214.

38.Coniglio,1967,1987,pp.57-62.Mazzoldi,1961,pp.1-18. Mozzarelli,1987,pp.31-33.

39.Coniglio,1967,1987,pp.57-58,60-62.Mazzoldi,1961,pp.3-13.

40.Ibid.,pp.60-61.Ibid.,pp.10-11.

41.Ibid.,pp.57-60.Ibid.,pp.4-11.Mahnke,1975,pp.404-05, 248,258,316.Carmassi,G;"Carteggio fra Mantova e Lucca nei secoli XIV e XV",Atti e memorie della R.Accademia Virgiliana di Mantova,n.s.,Vol.XI,1921,pp.3-34.One cannot find oneself in agreement with Mahnke concerning the nature of Gonzagan diplomacy during the years 1445 and 1450.The very frequency of the changes in alignment of Mantua in relation to the major states of the Italian Peninsula is clear indication of Lodovico II Gonzaga's determination to maintain the territorial integrity of the Mantovano by effectively exploiting the existing balance of power.

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230.Mahnke,1975,pp.1-4,385-91.Mallett,1974,pp.84,100-04, 122,135-37,208-09.Swain (Mahnke),E.W.;"The Wages of Peace:the *condotte* of Ludovico Gonzaga,1436-1478", Renaissance Studies,Vol.3,No.4,Oxford,1989,pp.442-52.Hale,J.R.;1985,p.32.Idem;"War and Public Opinion in Renaissance Italy",Renaissance War Studies, London,1983, pp.366-70.Clough,C.H.;"Sources for the Economic History of the Duchy of Urbino,1474-1508", Manuscripta,10,1966, pp.3-27,and in The Duchy of Urbino in the Renaissance (Variorum Reprints), London,1981,Section X.

231.Mahnke,1975,pp.4-5.

232.Woods-Marsden,J;"Art and Political Identity in Fifteenth-Century Naples:Pisanello,Cristoforo di Geremia and King Alfonso's Imperial Fantasies",Art and Politics

in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Italy,1250-1500 (Ed.C.M.Rosenberg).Notre-Dame,1990,pp.11-37.
233.Meroni,U;Mostra dei Codici Gonzagheschi.La biblioteca dei Gonzaga da Luigi I ad Isabella (Cat.of the exhibition "Mostra dei codici gonzageschi,1328-1540",held at Mantua 1966),Mantua,1966,p.41.Meroni's catalogue remains a most valuable reference work.However,not all of the reference nos.of the *Buste* of primary documents cited by Meroni have been printed correctly and refer to seventeenth century material,not fifteenth.The relevant pages of Meroni,1966,are pp.16-24 where the *Buste* serial nos. are listed.The incorrect nos.are on pp.18,20,21,22 and 23 : they are as follows,with the correct number in parenthesis;BUSTA 282 [822],BUSTA 283 [832],BUSTA 483 [843],BUSTA 1024 [1624],BUSTA 2980 [2908] and BUSTA 2868 [2680].I am grateful to Dr.Daniela Ferrari,the *Direttore* of the Archivio di Stato di Mantova for pointing this out to me.
234.Meroni,1966,pp.47-51,32-33.F.Prendilacqua "De vita Victorini Feltrensis dialogus",Il pensiero pedagogico dell'Umanesimo (Ed.E.Garin),Florence,1958,pp.600-01. De'Rosmini,C;Idea dell ottimo precettore nella vita e disciplina di Vittorino da Feltre e de'suoi discepoli, Bassano,1801,Ch.1.(B.C.Mn.).
235.Meroni,1966,pp.49-51,and nn.1-18.
236.This Thesis,chapter 1,footnote 275.
237.Meroni,1966,pp.54-55.
238.Ibid.pp.49-51.
239.Ibid.,p.56,and n.13.Pacchioni,G;"Belbello da Pavia e Gerolamo da Cremona miniatori:un prezioso messale gonzaghesco del sec.XV",L'Arte,1915,pp.241-372.
240.Meroni,1966,p.56 and n.16.
241.Ibid.,p.56 and nn.17,18.
242.Ibid.,p.56 and n.19.
243.Ibid.,p.56 and n.20.Braghirolli,W;Lettere inedite di artisti del secolo XV cavate dall'archivio Gonzaga,per nozze cavriani-sordi,Mantua,1878,p.42.
244.Meroni,1966,p.57 and n.22.
245.Ibid..p.57 and n.23.
246.Chiappini,L; "Eleonora d'Aragona prima Duchessa di Ferrara", Deputazione Provinciale Ferrarese di Storia Patria.Atti e Memorie, n.s., Vol.XVI, Rovigo, 1956,pp.45-46.Gruyer,G;L'art ferrarais a l'époque des princes d'Este, 2 Vols., Paris, 1897, Vol.I, pp. 410,578. Vol.II,pp.65,141-42.Lightbown,R.W.;Mantegna. With a Complete Catalogue of the Paintings,Drawings and Prints,Oxford,1986,pp.477-78 (Cat.166,76,79).
247.Meroni,1966,p.57 and n.24.
248.Ibid.,p.57 and nn.25,26.
249.Ibid.,p.57 and nn.27,28,29.
250.Ibid.,p.57 and n.30.
251.Ibid.,p.57 and n.31.
252.Ibid.,p.57 and n.32.A.S.D.Mn.Fondo Capitolo della Cattedrale.Serie Miscellanea.BUSTA N.2.
Die.27 octobr[e] 1483.
Inve[n]tario de arienti zoye.Camei.pani[i] d[e] razo tapeti.pani[i] Lini.veste libri cavalli masarine et de ogni altre robe restante de la heredita de la bona memoria de Mons[ignor] Car[dina]le de Mant[ua] Scripte p[er]functario et asignate in man[u] d[e] d[etto]

Zohanep[i]et[ro] ar[rivabe]ne in p[raese]ntio d[e] d[etto] alvise Capi[lupi] e de nuj.Strata.Cosino.e.Secho. (39 folios c.21x31 cms. in thin paper,written in pen in brown ink,numbered on recto only);

f.18r."2 libro minore d[e] geoma[n]tia-manu d[e] Juliani.
"2 libro mazore d[e] geomantia-manu sanviti".

Meroni (1966) mentions only one of these entries, namely, the latter two.The document has now been edited and published by D.S.Chambers as;A Renaissance Cardinal and his Worldly Goods:The Will and Inventory of Francesco Gonzaga (1444-1483).Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts,20. London,1992.

253.Meroni,1966,p.57 and nn.33,34.

254.Ibid.,p.57 and nn.35,36.

255.Ibid.,p.60 and nn.77,78.

256.Ibid.,p.60 and n.79.Foligno,C;"Di alcuni codici gonzagheschi ed estensi appartenuti all'abate Canonici", Il Libro e la stampa,Vol.I,Milan,1907,pp.69-75. Merolle-Tondi,I;L'abate Matteo Luigi Canonici e la sua biblioteca.I manoscritti Canonici e Canonici-Soranzo delle Biblioteche fiorentine,Rome,1958,pp.57-58.

257.Meroni,1966,pp.62-63 and nn.1-4.

258.This Thesis,Ch.1,pp.23-37 and Footnotes.

259.Meroni,1966,tavv.30,41.Brenzoni,R;Domenico Morone, Florence,1956,pp.13-17.Paccagnini,G(Ed.);Pisanello alla corte dei Gonzaga (Exh.Cat.), Mantua, 1972, no.27. Idem;Mantova.Le arti,3 Vols.,Vol.I,Mantua,1960,pp.50,58, 74,81-82,150-51,158,242-44.Castagna,R.;"Vita di Corte e Note di Costume del Periodo Isabelliano in Tempo di Guerra";Tellini Perina,C.;"La guerra nei dipinti della tradizione Gonzaghescha fra testimonianza storica e allusione letteraria",Guerre,Stati e Città,1988,pp.295-313,133-55.

260.Chambers,D.S.;Radcliffe,A.F.(in Chambers, Martineau, 1981);pp.140-41,150-52,nn.62,84-87.

261.Prizer,W.F.;"La cappella di Francesco II Gonzaga e la musica sacra a Mantova nel primo ventennio del cinquecento",Mantova e i Gonzaga nella civiltà del Rinascimento.Atti del convegno organizzato dall'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e dall'Accademia Virgiliana con la collaborazione della città di Mantova sotto alto patronato del Presidente della Repubblica Italiana Giovanni Leone (Mantua,Oct.1974),Mantua,1977,pp.267-76.

262.Chambers,D.S.(in Chambers, Martineau, 1981), p.152, nn.88,89.Magnaguti,A;Studi intorno alla Zecca di Mantova, 2 Vols.,Milan,1913 and 1915,Vol.I (I Marchesi,1433-1530),pp.30-33.

263.A.S.M.A.G.BUSTA 400.D.XII.6.Affari di famiglia dei principi dominanti di Mantova.Affari diversi della corte.Inventari di gioie,argenti e mobili.

Inventario d[e]lle robbe si sono ritrovate nell'armario di meggio che e nella crotta (*sic*) di Madama in corte vechia.(14 folios in heavy paper,numbered 157-168 {by an archivist} on recto only and written on both sides in pen and dark-brown ink.This copy,made in 1542,does not list the contents of Isabella's library).

The contents of Isabella's library are fully listed in a copy made in 1559,entitled thus:

Inventario dell[e] robbe si sono ritrovate nell'armario di meggio che e nella Crotta di Mada[ma] Ill[ustrissi]mi on corte vecchia.(17 folios in heavy paper,numbered 170-187 {again,by an archivist} on recto only and written on both sides in pen and dark-brown ink.The list of the contents of Isabella's library occupies folios 184-87 and is written in another hand with the heading,Inventario delli libri lassati p[er] la g[raziosa] felice memoria della Ill[ustrissi]ma S[ignor]a Isabella d'Este marchesana di Mant[ua].).

A further copy exists (from the same BUSTA) which was possibly drawn up for the Duchess Margherita Paleologo (b.1510-d.1566),the wife of Federico Gonzaga (b.1500-d.1540) first Duke and fifth Marchese of Mantua.This inventory is a *de luxe* version written in Italian on vellum and decorated with initials and scroll-patterns in gold-leaf,blue and red.No fewer than 1,620 items are listed in 235 entries,which include Margherita's jewels as well as Isabella's effects.

264.Fletcher,J.M.;(in Chambers, Martineau, 1981), pp.51-52,53-54.Luzio,Renier,Archivio storico lombardo, Vol.XVII,1890,p.356.Idem."Il lusso di Isabella d'Este,Marchesa di Mantova",Nuova Antologia, ser. IV, Vol. LXIII,1896,p.464.Bertolotti,A;Le arti minori alla corte di Mantova nei secoli XV,XVI e XVII, Milan,1889,p.69.Martindale,A.H.R.;"The Patronage of Isabella d'Este at Mantua", Apollo, Vol.LXXIX, London, 1964,pp.183-84.Brown,C.M.;"Lo Insaciabile Desiderio Nostro De Cose Antique:New Documents on Isabella d'Este's Collection of Antiquities",Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance.Essays in Honour of P.O.Kristeller (Ed.C.H.Clough),Manchester,1976,p.335.

265.Meroni,1966,pp.67-68,and nn.12-16.

266.Ibid.,p.67.

267.Ibid.,p.67,and n.14.

268.Ibid.,p.67,and n.15.

269.Ibid.,p.67,and n.15.

270.Ibid.,p.67,and n.16.

271.Prendilacqua,ed.cit.,1958,p.600.Pesenti,G;"Vittorino da Feltre e gli inizii della scuola di greco in Italia", Athenaeum,Vol.III,pt.1,1925,pp.1-15.

272.Rashdall,H;The Universities of Europe (Rev.Ed.,E.Powicke),2 Vols., London, 1958, Vol.II,p.330. Faccioli,E;Mantova.Le Lettere, Vol.II, Mantua,1962,Ch.1.Paglia,E;"La Casa Giocosa di Vittorino da Feltre in Mantova",Archivio storico lombardo, Vol.I, Milan,1884,p.150.

273.De'Rosmini,1801,pp.75-85.Signorini,R;"Manzare poco, bevere aqua asai et dormire manco:suggerimenti dietetici vittoriniani di Ludovico II Gonzaga al figlio Gianfrancesco e un sospetto pitagorico",Vittorino da Feltre e la sua scuola:umanesimo,pedagogia,arti.Atti del convegno di studi promosso dalla Fondazione Giorgio Cini; Venezia,Feltre,Mantua (9-11 Nov. 1979), Ed.N. Gianetto, Florence,1981,pp.115-48.Idem;"Francesco Prendilacqua salvato dalle acque.Avventura a lieto fine di un allievo

di Vittorino da Feltre",Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia Nazionale Virgiliana di Scienze,Lettere e Arti.n.s.Vol. LI,1983.pp.117-26.
274.Luzio,A;Renier,R;"I Filelfo e l'Umanesimo alla corte dei Gonzaga",Giornale storico della Letteratura Italiana, Vol.XVI,1890.pp.119-217.
275.Torelli,P(Ed.);L'Archivio Gonzaga di Mantova, R.Accademia Virgiliana di Mantova,Mantua,2 Vols., 1920,Repr.Mantua,1988,pp.65-66,69-71.

The Inventories that survive are listed under A.S.M.A.G. Section D.VI 9 (Testamenti,Inventari,Accetazioni e Ripudi d'Eredità),BUSTE 328-34 inclusive.They cover the years 1303 to 1781.Section D.XII (Affari diversi della corte),BUSTE 393-415 inclusive,and also Section D.XIII (Notizie e storie dei Principi e della città di Mantova),BUSTE 416-21 inclusive.They cover the years 1007-1703.The most complete (and interesting) of these are the following;

(a).BUSTA.329.D.VI.No.1.(C.C.N.N.97).
Fideicomisariorum inventarium F.1.Liber inventarii bonorum mobilium hereditatis quondam domini Francisci Gonzagae domini Mantuae-confecti-Anno 1407.

This document (by far the most complete and impressive of all the inventories surviving) consists of two volumes bound in vellum which contain leaves of heavy paper,roughly larger than A3 format with the entries written in pen and brown ink.Vol.1 comprises 168 folios (with 21 left blank);Vol.2 comprises 192 (with 22 left blank).The folios are numbered from no.1 in each volume,on recto only,with an additional stamped number below the original written number.The written and stamped nos.do not remain in correspondence owing to the blank sheets not always being numbered.The compiling of this inventory began on 26 April 1407 and was completed on 29 January 1408.It is strange that a document of this importance and comprehensiveness has never been edited and published in the complete form.Scholars have confined themselves to publishing those sections dealing with the arms and armour,and the contents of the Gonzaga library,e.g.;

Mann,J.G.;"The Lost Armoury of the Gonzagas", Archaeological Journal,Vol.XCV,1938,pp.239-336, Vol.C,1943,pp.16-127.
Girolla,P.;"La biblioteca di Francesco Gonzaga secondo l'inventario del 1407",Atti e memorie della R.Accademia Virgiliana di Mantova,Vols.,XIV-XVII,Mantua,1923,pp.30-72.The title of Girolla's article is misleading;she only deals with the books listed in Vol.1 of the *Inventario* of 1407.
Braghirolli,W;Meyer,P;Paris,G;"Inventaire des manuscrits en langue francaise possedes par Francesco Gonzaga I, capitaine de Mantoue mort en 1407", Romania, Vol.IX, 1880,pp.497-514.
Novati,F.;"I codici francesi de'Gonzaga secondo nuovi documenti",Romania,Vol.XIX,1890,pp.164-200.

(b).BUSTA.398.D.XII.No.6.(Affari di famiglia dei principi dominanti di Mantova.Affari diversi della corte.Inventari di gioie,argenti e mobili.).*Registro di spese* covering the years 1406-86.The original document consists of two volumes of nearly A4 format.The folios are of heavy paper and bound in vellum covered boards.The two volumes are subdivided as follows:

Vol.1..129 folios numbered on recto only,covering the years 1406-14.
(1406).Libro,in cui sta la Descrizione,o sia L'Inventario degl'apparamenti ed altri mobili di casa del Sig[no]re Msc(?) Gonzaga Sig[no]re di Mantova.The folios are numbered from 5 to 82 with 21 blank sides.This section was begun on June 1406.

(1414).Inventarium rerum et Bonorum mobilium,et,de juribus D[omi]norum Caroli Francisci,Ludovici,et Stephani Comitum de Prato,eorumque Complicium in duobus quaternis.The folios are numbered from 84 to 115 with 9 blank sides.
Liber Inventarii bonor[um] inventori in Anno d[omi]ni Francisci de prato.Incipiendo die p[rimus] Januarii 1414.The folios are numbered from 119 to 129 with 4 blank sides.

Vol.2.,325 folios numbered on recto only,covering the years 1414-86,but not in consecutive order,as will be seen below;
(1414-44).Libro in cui sono numerate diverse e molte Argentarie,loro Lug[r]a o sia valore di ragione de M[agist]ri di Mantova.The folios are numbered from 132 to 230 with 82 blank sides.The years covered in this section are 1414 (beginning at the first of July), 1418, 1433, 1435,1436 and 1439.The year entry-columns are not written in chronological order and there are frequent insertions pertaining to earlier and later years.

(1429).There is no descriptive title,only the date-1429.The folios are numbered from 234 to 277.This is by far the most detailed listing of the value (but not the expenditure?) of the items hald by the Gonzaga.The objects listed here are all items of jewellery and silverware.The value of the jewellery has been set out to the extent of subdividing the total value of each item in terms of the value of the components (i.e. gold,the precious stones,pearls) incorporated.The value of the entire collection of jewellery and silverware for the year 1429 amounts to 48,272 ducats.The information set out on folios 247-275 repeats that found in folios 234-245.

(1443 and 1444).Libro di Inventario di Argentarie de S[igno]ri di Mantova.The folios are numbered from 281 to 383 with 76 blank sides.Many of the entry-columns have been struck through with a single pen-stroke which would suggest transfer of the data to another book (or folios) that is no longer extant.Some of the folios have entries written in at later dates.Folio 383 repeats an entry for 25 February-20 June 1439,this entry is for jewellery.

(1474,1475,1477 and 1478).Libro in cui sono descritte molte gioie ed altre fatture di ori e di Argenti di ragione delli Ill[ust]ri.M[arches]i.Margherita,e Federico Gonzaga-Dare,e avere ne'sud[et]ti Anni per d[et]te.cose preziose.The folios are numbered from 386-474 with 39 blank sides.

(1481-86).Libro,in cui si contengono descritti molti Capi preziosi d'oro,di Argento,e Gioie della casa del Sig[no]r.M[arche]se.di Mantova.The folios are numbered from 417-57 with 69 blank sides.

The format of this entire document would suggest that the item is either a copy made at some time during the fifteenth century or loose folios hurriedly-bound together.Perhaps the most disappointing aspect of this document (apart from the gaps in the record for the period covered by the document) is that the *altri mobili* recorded do not include any books or documents.These items appear in Gonzaga correspondence.One cannot add much to the researches of Signorini,Martindale and earlier scholars in this regard.It would seem to be the case that the Gonzagas had what was very much an *ad hoc* policy as far as acquisitions for their library are concerned.The amounts of money indicated in the correspondence of Lodovico II,in payment for these items (Signorini,1981,pp.181-83),and the manner of payment would indicate that one is in the realm of petty cash in comparison with that represented by the jewellery and gold- and silverware held by the Gonzagas.

276.Signorini,R;Opus Hoc Tenue.La Camera Dipinta di Andrea Mantegna.Lettura,storia,iconografica,iconologia,Mantua, 1985,pp.97-98 (n.17).
277.F.Prendilacqua (Ed.cit.),1958,q.v.
278.Paglia,1884,p.155.
279.Kristeller,P;Andrea Mantegna (English edition, trans. S.A.Strong),London,1901,pp.1-15 (but esp.pp.7-8,13-14).
280.Kristeller,1901,pp.42-43.
281.Luzio,Renier,1890,p.140.Idem;"Il Platina e i Gonzaga", Giornale storico della Letteratura Italiana, Vol.XIII, 1889,pp.430-40.
282.Luzio,Renier,1889,p.440.
283.Martindale,A.H.R.; The Triumphs of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Hampton Court,London,1979,pp.29-30.
284.Luzio,Renier,1890,p.217.
285.Martindale,1979,p.30.
286.Luzio,Renier,1890,pp.215-17.
287.Ibid.,pp.215-17.
288.Faccioli,1962,pp.151-202.Idem;Mantova.Le Lettere, Vol.I,Mantua,1959,pp.79-84.
289.Mustard,W.P.(Ed.);The Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus, Baltimore,1911,passim.
290.Faccioli,1959,pp.79-84.Dionisotti,C;"Battista Fiera", Italia Medioevale e Umanistica,Vol.I,1958,pp.401-18.
291.Faccioli,1959,pp.79-84;1962,pp.366-73.
292.Alberti,L.B.;De Pictura,Ed.and Trans.C.Grayson,On Painting and On Sculpture,London,1972,pp.31-34.New

Ed.,Leon Battista Alberti.On Painting,with Intro.and Notes by M.J.Kemp.Harmondsworth,1991,pp.34-36.
293.Bartolommeo Sacchi (Il Platina);Divi Ludovici Marchionis Mantuae Somnium (Ed.A.Portioli),Mantua,1887.
294.Coniglio,1967,1987,pp.15-21;1958,pp.328-42.
295.Meroni,1966,pp.41-45,and nn.1-11.
296.Footnote 273.
297.Meroni,1966,pp.41-43. Braghirolli,Meyer, Paris, 1890, pp.497-514.Novati,1890,pp.164-200.Girolla,1923,pp.30-72. Pellegrin,E;La bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza ducs de Milan au XVe siècle, Paris, 1955, passim. D'Adda,G;Indagini storiche artistiche e bibliografiche sulla libreria visconteo-sforzesca del castello di Pavia, Milan,1875,passim.Capelli,A;"La biblioteca Estense nella prima metà del sec.XV",Giornale storico della Letteratura Italiana,Vol.XIV,1889,pp.1-30.
298.Roncaglia,A;"La letteratura franco-veneta",Storia della letteratura Italiana (Ed.E.Cecchi and N.Sapegno), Vol.II (Il Trecento),Milan,1965,pp.727-59.
299.Bertoni,G;La Biblioteca Estense e La Coltura Ferrarese ai Tempi del Duca Ercole I,Turin,1903,p.62,and n.1.
300.Meroni,1966,pp.53-54,and n.2.Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani,Vol.IV,Rome,1962,p.594.
301.Signorini,R;"Acquisitions for Ludovico II Gonzaga's Library",Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes Vol.XLIV,London,1981,pp.180-83.
302.Luzio,Renier,1890,p.148.Signorini,1981,p.180. Kristeller, P.O.(Ed.);Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum, Vol.II,Washington D.C.,1970,p.280. Mancini,G;"Gregorio Tifernate",Archivio storico Italiano, Vol.LXXXI,1923,pp.65-112.
303.Meroni,1966,pp.32-33. Signorini,1981,p.181. Franceschini,A(Ed.)Giovanni Aurispa e la sua biblioteca. Notizie e documenti, Padua,1976,pp.61,112,116-17,123, 129,160.
304.Signorini,1981,p.181.
305.Ibid.,p.181.
306.Martindale,1979,p.45.
307.Ibid.,p.45.
308.Ibid.,p.45.
309.Meroni,1966,p.63,and nn.7-11.
310.Cottafavi,C;"Saggi inediti su edifici della Corte di Mantova:La Domus Nova (1936-7)",Atti Accademia Virgiliana Vol.XXXIV,1963,pp.8-18.Vasic Vatovec,C;Luca Fancelli architetto.Epistolario Gonzaghesco,Florence,1979, pp.224-32.
311.Meroni,1966,p.63,and n.5.
312.Ibid.,pp.31,34,37,83,tavv.126-29.Amadei,G;Il Palazzo d'Arco in Mantova (also with A.Bellù,M.C.Grassi, M.Zanelli,E.Marani),Mantua,1980,p.234.La Scienza a Corte. Collezionismo eclettico natura e immagine a Mantova fra Rinascimento e Manierismo (D.A.Franchini,R.Margonari, G.Olmi,R.Signorini,A.Zanca,C.Tellini Perina), Mantua,1979,pp.65,67,and n.13.Cavriani,C;Le razze Gonzaghesche dei cavalli nel Mantovano e la loro influenza sul puro sangue inglese,Mantua,1909,repr.as fascicle,Mantua,1974,pp.19-29.Chambers,D.S.(in Chambers,Martineau,1981),pp.146-48,nn.73-76.

313.Coniglio,1967,1987,passim:1958,passim.Mazzoldi,1961, passim.Idem (and R.Giusti,R.Salvadori,with U.Nicolini); Mantova.La storia,Vol.III ("Da Guglielmo III Duca alla fine della seconda guerra mondiale"),Mantua,1963, pp.3-193.
314.Burns,H;"The Gonzaga and Renaissance Architecture" (in Chambers,Martineau.1981),pp.27-38.
315.Ibid.,p.37.Vasic Vatovec,1979,pp.56,125-26,141-43,232. Lamoureaux,R.E.;Alberti's Church of San Sebsatiano,Ph.D thesis,New York,1979,docs.XI X,XXII. Verheyen,E;The Palazzo del Te in Mantua.Images of Love and Politics,Baltimore,London,1977,p.141,and doc.42 . Gronau,G;Documenti artistici urbinati, Florence,1936, p.137.Davies,P.;"Quattrocento palaces in Mantua and Ferrara",Mantegna,1993,pp.72-83.
316.Burns,1981,pp.27,32,126-27 (n.36).Chambers,D.S.;"Sant'Andrea at Mantua and Gonzaga patronage",Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,Vol.XI,1977,pp.99-127.Lawson,J;The Palace at Revere and the Earlier Architectural Patronage of Lodovico Gonzaga,Marquis of Mantua (1444-78),Ph.D thesis,Edinburgh,1979,passim.Idem;(in Chambers, Martineau,1981),pp.124-25 (n.34).
317.Mazzoldi,1961,p.31.Mahnke,1975,pp.1,4-5. Calzona,A;Mantova città dell'Alberti.Il San Sebastiano:Tomba,Tempio,Cosmo (Quaderni di storia dell' arte 12),Parma,1979.pp.131-32.Gazzola,G;Itinerario tra città murate e castelli del Veneto e di Lombardia, Montagnana,1956,passim.Pegoralli,C;Castelli della pianura lombarda,Milan,1960,passim. Rodella,G.;"Fortificazione dello stato Gonzaghescho e organizzazione dell'economia agricola nel XV secolo";Bellù,A.;"I contrassegni militari nello stato dei Gonzaga",Guerre,Stati e Città,1988,pp.157-72,103-32.
318.Burns,1981,pp.27-30.Vasic Vatovec, 1979, p.88. Dall'Acqua,M;"Storia di un progetto albertiano,non realizzato:La ricostruzione della rotonda di San Lorenzo di Mantova",Il Sant'Andrea di Mantova e Leon Battista Alberti,Atti del Convegno (Mantua 1972),Mantua, 1974, pp.231-34.Carpeggiani,P;Ludovico Gonzaga,the Architecture and project of Rinovatio Urbis (1444-1478),paper presented at the Symposium,"The Court of the Gonzaga in the Age of Mantegna 1450-1550",R.A.,London,6-8 March, 1992.
319.Mazzoldi,1961,pp.16-18. Carpeggiani,1992.Nodari,F;Osservazioni critiche sulla vita di S.Longino Martire nell'Acta Sanctorum dei P.P.Bollandisti,ossia difesa della tradizione mantovana sul Lateral Sangue di N.S.G.C. conservato nella basilica di S.Andrea in Mantova,Pavia,1899,passim.Gaiter,L.;Sul Preziossissimo Sangue di Gesù Cristo venerato a Mantova,dissertazione con documenti,Mantua,1876, pp.11,13.Amadei,F;1954,pp.47-52,108-28,146-7,174-78, 189-94,330-32,453,542,692,700;1955,pp.107-08,118.
320.Carpeggiani,1992.Burns,1981,pp.126-27 (n.36).Chambers,1977,pp.99-127.Dall'Acqua,1974,pp.231-34. Johnson,E.J.;Sant'Andrea:The Building History, London, 1975,pp.1-10.
321.Chambers,1977,p.104.Carpeggiani,1992.

322.Vasic Vatovec,1979,p.120. Chambers,1977,p.111. Webb,N.;"Momus with little flatteries:intellectual life at the Italian courts",Mantegna,1993,pp.56-71.(Indexed as "Humanism in the Quattrocento courts".)
323.Burns,1981,pp.126-27.Johnson,1975,pp.1-20.
324.Burns,1981,pp.30-31.Rubinstein,N (Ed.);Lorenzo de'Medici,Lettere,Vol.III (1478-79),Florence,1977,pp.124-26.Pratico,G;"Lorenzo il magnifico e i Gonzaga",Archivio storico Italiano,Vol.CVII,1949,pp.155-71 (pp.159-60).The debt outstanding to the Medici stood at some 11,198 ducats in June 1478.
325.Burns,1981,pp.31-32.Lamoureaux,1979,pp.209-10, doc.LXII.1500?
326.Burns,1981,p.32.Brown,C.M.;"Little known and unpublished documents concerning Andrea Mantegna, Bernardino Parentino,Pietro Lombardo,Leonardo da Vinci and Filippo Benintendi",L'Arte,n.s.,Vol.II, 1969 (no.6), pp.140-64 (no.7),pp.182-84.
327.Lightbown,1986,pp.177-80,438-39.Luzio,A;"La Madonna della Vittoria del Mantegna",Emporium,Vol.X,1899,pp.358-74.Portioli,A:"La vera storia di un dipinto celebre", Giornale di erudizione artistica,Vol.II,1873,pp.145-58. Idem;"La chiesa e la Madonna della Vittoria di A.Mantegna in Mantova",Atti e memorie della R.Accademia Virgiliana di Mantova,1882-83,pp.55-79 (also in Archivio storico lombardo, Vol.X, 1883, pp.447-73). Luzio incorrectly transcribed Sigismondo Gonzaga's letters;he asserts that Sigismondo referred to Mantegna by the lower title of *Mastro*.as against the more dignified title of *Messer* by which the artist was usually addressed in correspondence.This is not so,as will be seen in the relevant documents below;the abbreviation is definitely that for *Messer* [*Me*] and not *Mastro* [*Mro*] (Isabella's letter to Francesco II has also been included).Lightbown leaves the question open.

A.S.M.A.G.BUSTA 2110.F.II.6.f.338.Sigismondo Gonzaga to Francesco II Gonzaga,26 August,1495;
"Ill[ustrissi]mo et ex[cellentissi]mo Si[gnor] mio.Quello Zorno chio hebbi la l[ette]ra da V[ost]ra ex[cellen]tia:quale me coma[n]dava tutto quello haveva a Fare circa la causa del Judeo che haveva fatto removere la effigie da la gloriosa Verzene ginso del muro de la casa ch[e]l haveva comprato.Mandai subito per esso Judeo notificandoli tutto quello era de mente de V[ostr]a Ex[cellen]tia:e quando non attendessi ch[e]l incorreva effectualm[en]te in la pena dela Forcha:Esso iudeo quello medemo Zorno me exhibitte la sum[m]a del denaro che dichiarava nela l[ette]ra sua V[ost]ra ex[cellen]tia.Se attenderamo ad la mente de V[ost]ra Si[gno]ria in questo caso col mezo de me[esser] Andrea mantegna:siche la non havera a Fare altra demo[n]stratione contra esso Judeo per lerrore suo.....Mantu[a]e XXVj Augusti.1495

Ex[cellen]tia V[ost]ra
Frater et s[ervi]tor Sigismundus de Gonzaga."

A.S.M.A.G.BUSTA.2110.F.II.6.f.339.Sigismondo Gonzaga to Francesco II Gonzaga,30 August 1495;
"Ill[ustrissi]mo S[igno]re mio unico.Acio la s[ua] v[ostra] Ill[ustrissi]ma sapia quanto ho operato circa far fare quella Imagine dela n[ost]ra Verzene maria Gloriosa:suso quella casa de li Judei gli significo como fin hora li Judei han[n]o exbursato Cento e dece ducatti:de li quali ne ha havuto parte me[esser] Andrea Mantinea:che la vole far in ex[cellenza] el resto de li ditti denari Io lho ne li mane:darollo al p[redic]to me[esser] Andrea comprimum sia principiata come la ex[cellentia] v[ost]ra intendera p[er] una de Don Ierenimo al scriver del quale me remetto in tutto:Raccomandomi in bona Gratia de la ex[cellentia] v[ostra] quam felicissimam cupio et deus custodiat.Mantu[a]e penult[im]o aug[us]ti 1495
.....
Ex[cellentia] V[ostra]

S[ervi]tor Sigismundus de Go[n]zaga
c[um] R[accomandatione]".

A.S.M.A.G.BUSTA.2111.F.II.6.L.VIII.f.385. ("Lettere originali").Sigismondo Gonzaga to Francesco II Gonzaga,6 July 1496;
"Ill[ustrissi]mo Signor mio Unico:havendo fo a continua memoria il di crudele et acerimo del facto darme ch[e] hozi e uno an[n]o se fece in parmesana:nell il sum[m]o dio e sua gloriosa matre salvo da tanti periculi v[ost]ra ex[cellentia] doppo molte valorose e strenue operatione facte p[er] lei a morte e destructione de li nemici:ho pensato insieme cu[m] la mia Ill[ustrissi]ma Madon[n]a in questo di fara qualch[e] laudabile memoria alaude di dio,e de sua gloriosa matre:Et cossi havemo ordinata una bella pressione:la quale q[ue]sta matina solennemente cu[m] tute le regole de frati e preti se facta i[n] q[ue]sto modo:Tuti li religiosi si adunoreno a San Sebastiano cu[m] la mazor[e] parte del populo:dove era exaltata la Imagine de la gloriosa Verzene ch[e] ha fornita me[esser] Andrea Mantinea suso uno tribunale grande adornato molto solennem[en]te:et sopra ad essa Imagine gli era uno zovene vestito di dio patre:et dui p[ro]pheti da ogni Canto:da li La di tri anzoletti,ch[e] cantavano----laude:et p[er] extra gli erano li xij.apostoli:Quando fin il tempo,se levo q[ue]sto tribunale ch[e] era portata da xx.fachini.Et cossi presionaliter se porto q[ue]sta Imagine fin a San Simone cu[m] tanto numero de persone maschij--femine:ch[e] mai non ne fu viste tante i[n] mantua:---era aparechiato uno solenne altare suso il Cantono de la nova Capella,dove celebro una solenne messa me[esser] christophoro arrivabeno:Ma prima frate petro da Caneto fece una bella oratione Vulgare al populo i[n] laude de la Verzene gloriosa i[n] exortarla ad haverla in devotione:ricordandoli ch[e] l era stata q[ue]lla.ch[e] havea liberato v[ost]ra ex[cellentia]. i[n] simile di d[e] tanti periculi:et ch[e] volessimo et tuti pregarla ch[e] la conservasse felix p[er] la advenire:Et cossi veramente tuti ad una vote la pregarono:cosa di ch[e] la v[ostra] Si[gnor] ne deve haver[e] gran[de] consolatione

de tanto amore--reverentia come gli dimonstra tuto q[ue]sto populo:quale non e puncto ingrato de li beneficij ch[e] la ge fa ogni hora:Il doppo disnare essa Imagine sua collocata al loco deputato dove non stete tre hore.ch[e]l ge fareno presentate alcuno imagine de cera:e d operi et altri votj:per il ch[e] credo ch[e] in breve tempo gli------gran[dissi]mo devotione:et de tuto q[ue]sto bene la v[ost]ra ex[cellentia] ne sera stata Causa:Me ne sto me in desiderio gran[dissi]mo de Intendere ch[e] la ne senta q[ue]l ch[e] suffragio.et ch[e] lhabia q[ue]l ch[e] grand[e] honore e gloriosa victoria:.....

Ill[ustrissi]me D[omino] V[ostro]

S[er]vitor Sigismundus de Gonz[ag]e [cum] R[accomandation]e".

A.S.M.A.G.BUSTA.2111.F.II.6.L.V.f.266-67 ("Lettere originali").Isabella d'Este to Francesco II Gonzaga 10 July 1496:
"--La Figura de n[ost]ra Donna ch[e] ha facto Andrea Mantinea fu levata mercori passato a li sei dal p[o]nte de casa sua et portata cu[m] la processione a la nova capella intitullata sancta Maria de la Victoria in commemoratione del.Facto darme de la chiaro la facto infirmite di lanno passato.dove consorse piu gente ch[e] vedesse mai ad alcuna processione in qiesta terra.A[l] mezo de la messa gran fece una bella oratione Frate Petro mio confessore molto a proposito de questa solennita supplicando quelle gloriosa Virgine maria che conservi--- V[ostra] Ex[cellentia] et ritorni presto victoriosa a casa.Io per essere nel termine ch[e] sono non possetti andare cu[m] la processione a Pede.ma andai sul Borgo a vederla passare et ritornai in castello passando denanti ad esso nova capella quale era bene ornata et la via coperta et molto copiosa de ge[n]te .....
Raccomandome in bona gra[tia] de V[ostra] Ex[cellentia].Mantu[a]e X Julij 1496.

Ill[ustrissi]me. D[omino] V[ostra]

Consors Isabella cu[m] R[accomandatio]ne".

328.Mallett,J.V.G.;"The Gonzaga and Ceramics" (in Chambers,Martineau,1981),pp.39-43,173-74.Ibid;pp.44-45, Palvarini Gobio Casali,M;"Ceramic tiles for the Gonzaga".
329.Palvarini Gobio Casali, 1981, p.44.
Franchini,Margonari,Olmi,Signorini,Zanca,Tellini Perina, 1979,pp.198-200.Braghirolli 1878,p.46.Bertolotti,A.;"La ceramica alla corte di Mantova nei secoli XV, XVI, XVII", Archivio storico lombardo,Vol.XVI,Mantua,1889,pp.808-46 (p.10);Repr.as fascicle,Mantua,1977,also p.10.
Verheyen,E.;The Paintings in the Studiolo of Isabella d'Este at Mantua.N.Y,1971,p.11.
330.Mallett,1981,pp.39-43,173-74.Palvarini Gobio Casali, 1981,p.44.Gelli,J.;Divise,Motti e Imprese di famiglie e personaggi italiani,Milan,1916,2nd ed., Milan, 1928, pp. 29,33,52,55-56,162,166,181,227,165,281,186,301,427,486.

331.Palvarini Gobio Casali,1981,pp.44-45.
Verheyen,1971, p.11.
332.Mallett,1981,p.174.
333.Mumford,I.L.;"Some decorative aspects of the Imprese of Isabella d'Este",Italian Studies,Vol.XXXIV,1979, pp.60-70.
334.Lightbown,1986,p.186.Luzio,A;I precettori d'Isabella d'Este.Ancona,1887,pp.1-21.Cf.Cartwright,J;Isabella d'Este Marchioness of Mantua,1474-1539.A Study of Renaissance.2 Vols., London, 1903, 2nd.Ed., 1903; Repr.1932,Vol.I,pp.1-18.Luzio,A;Renier,R;Mantova e Urbino,Isabella d'Este ed Elisabetta Gonzaga nelle Relazione Famigliare e nelle Vicende Politiche, Turin, 1893,p.16.Davari,S.;"La musica a mantova,Notizie biografiche di maestri di musica cantori e suonatori presso la corte di Mantova nei secoli XV,XVI,XVII,tratte dai documenti dell'Archivio Storico Gonzaga",Rivista storica mantovana,Vol.I,Mantua,1884,p.54 ff; Repr. (Ed.G.Ghirardini) Mantua, 1975, p.61. Gruyer, 1897, Vol.II,pp.83,136,153.Russell,J.G.;Diplomats at Work.Three Renaissance Studies,Wolfboro Falls,New Hampshire; Stroud, Gloucs,1992,pp.14-15.Symonds,J.A.;Renaissance in Italy.The Revival of Learning,2 Vols., London, 1897, Vol.2,pp.182-91,262-64.
335.Coniglio,1967,1987,pp.140-249.
336.Wind,E.;Bellini's Feast of the Gods.A Study in Venetian Humanism,Cambridge,Mass.,1948,p.3.
337.A.S.M.A.G.BUSTE.2106 (1490),2107 (1491),2108 (1492-93),2109 (1494),2110 (1495),2111 (1496),2112 (1497),2113 (1499),2114 (1500-01),2115 (1502-03),2116 (1504-06).All series F.II.6.(*Lettere autografi*).Also BUSTA.5 (*Raccolta d'autografi*) which has 2 letters written by Isabella d'Este to Francesco II Gonzaga on 6 April 1490 and August 27 1496 respectively (numbered C.5 and C.6).BUSTA.1.(*Collezione Volta d'Autografi*) which has 41 letters written by Isabella to Francesco II between 4 August 1500 and 14 November 1506 (all from fascicle 103).BUSTA.1. of the *Schede Davari* has a copy of a letter written by Isabella to Francesco II on 10 November 1506 (original in BUSTA.1. of the *Collezione Volta d'Autografi*,fascicle 103).The *Copialettere particolari d'Isabella d'Este* are to be found in BUSTE.2991. (covering 1 June 1491-30 Dec.1494),2992 (1 Jan 1495-12 Jan.1499),2993 (11 Feb.1499-7 March 1504) and 2994 (31 Jan.-30 April 1508).All series F.II.9.They have been drafted in various hands (of varying degees of legibility) on folios (*scritti*) of stout paper bound in vellum covered boards.The BUSTE contain from 4 to 6 of these *libri* which themselves comprise from 56 to 107 *scritti* each numbered on both recto and verso.

From the surviving primary documentary evidence it would appear that Isabella d'Este wrote some 1,344 letters during the years 1490-1506.The vast majority of them are addressed to Francesco II Gonzaga and deal with state matters.It is somewhat salutary to realize that only 36 deal specifically with the Arts and Letters.The selection here accurately illustrates the general tenor of Isabella's correspondence.

A.S.M.A.G.BUSTA.5.(*Raccolta d'Autografi*) C.5.Isabella

d'Este to Francesco II Gonzaga.Mantua 6 April 1490:
"Ill[ustrissi]mo S[ignore] mio.La lettera che me scrive la S[ignoria] V[ostra] di sua mano me e stata ta[n]to grata q[uan]to dire se possa sta[n]to piu qua[n]to p[er] havere i[n]teso del suo be[n] stare e qua[n]to honore ("vista stato fato"-inserted here) paret de la ch[e] gia no[n] poteria udire cossa ch[e] piu me fusse stata cara egrata e[t] no[n] poteria dire da S[ignoria] V[ostra] qua[n]to de fide cosa sono co[n]tinuame[n]te udire ch[e] la S[ignoria] V[ostra] sua sana e de bona voglia io ho fato la a[m]basata de la quale regratia la S[ignoria] V[ostra] assai elei i[n]sieme cu[m] mi se recoma[n]damo ala S[ignoria] V[ostra] i[n] ma[n]tua adi 6 de ap[ri]le 1490.

Quella che edesiderosa
de co[n]tinuo vedere la
S[ignoria] V[ostra] isabella da
este de go[n]zaga de ma[nu]
p[ropri]a".

A.S.M.A.G.BUSTA.2110.F.II.6.f.24.(*Lettere originali*).
Isabella d'Este to Francesco II Gonzaga,Milan 20 February 1495;
"Ill[ustrissi]mo S[ignore] mio.Pensando lo Ill[ustrissi]mo S[ignore] Duca de Milano de governar[e] la practica n[ost]ra talm[en]te ch[e] la non possi fallire:ma ha dicto ch[e] scriva a.v[ostra] ex[cellentia] como lha poi deliberato de non parlare a' lo Ambassatore Veneto fin tanto che li soi non siano partiti:perche vorra fare che q[ue]sto scrivi in tempo che li soi serran[n]o a' venetia et parlaranno anchora loro de questa matheria:per non darli tempo prima de consultare la resposta.Me parso avisarne subito V[ostra] S[ignoria] acio ch[e] la non se maravigliasse de q[ue]sta poca dilatione:la quale veram[en]te e piu secura.et cognoscera ta[n]to meglio cu[m] q[ua]nta sincerita et dextresa procede el S[ignore] Duca in questo caso.Raccommandome in bona gr[ati]a de V[ostra] Ex[cellentia].Dinovo no[n] ce alcuna cosa digna de lei.Mediolani XX febr[ua]rij 1495.

V[ost]ra Isabella cu[m]
R[accomandatio]ne".

A.S.M.A.G.BUSTA.2114.F.II.6.(*Lettere originali*). Isabella d'Este to Francesco II Gonzaga,Mantua 10 October 1501;
"Ill[ustrissi]mo S[ignore] mio.La provisione che se ha ad fare per recuperare la casa de Milano per parere de tutti questi n[ost]ri e che per dare magiore favore alla causa si debba mandare in iure,come seria me[sser] Donato di preti,o,altro che paresse a v[ostra] ex[cellentia] quale havesse a stare a Milano fin a causa cognosciuta.Deinde per potere essere restituito subito in possessio[n]e de la casa senza alcuna dilatione:chel seria necessario gionto che fusse q[ue]sto n[ost]ro a Milano,fare oblatione et cu[m] effecto del deposito de 2120 ducati ultra li 680 ducati che se ha chiamati hieronymo Fighino per compire tutta la sum[m]a de 2800:per li quali fu data per errore la casa in pagamento a me[sser] erasmo:acio chel tempo de redimerla non spirasse nanti la

terminatione de la causa,qual termine finisse al natale:Facto q[ue]sto deposito non se dubita che la sententia venira in favore n[ost]ro:per monstrarsi lo errore cu[m] instrume[n]ti publici:et che cu[m] li 680 ducati di quali v[ostra] ex[cellentia] e vera debitrice de me[sser] Zoanne Cavalcabo socero de me[sser] Erasmo,se potera redimere.Quelli de chi la se poteria servire in chiamarsi el deposito seriano per parere de li n[ost]ri,el Cavaliere Bonromeo,o,Nicolao Maijolino mercada[n]te Milanese antiquo partesano de casa.Resta mo che la cel[situdine] v[ostra] sopra il tutto faci subita deliberatione:in bona gr[ati]a de la quale me raco[mman]do.Mantu[a]e.X.oct[obr]e 1501.

Consors Isabella cu[m]
R[acco]m[andation]e".

A.S.M.A.G.BUSTA.2116.F.II.6.(*Lettere originali*). Isabella d'Este to Francesco II Gonzaga,Sachetta,12 June 1506;
"Ill[ustrissi]mo S[ignore] mio.Mi sono maravigliata ch[e] volendosi V[ostra] Ex[cellentia] valere de le n[ost]re zoglie mi le habbi richieste per valuta de mille ducati cu[m] tanto rispecto et scusa:perche in li bisogni soi:non quelle chio ho che tutte sono sue,ma voria potermi fare zoglia per compiacerla:Se qualch[e] volta ho monstrato renitentia e stato,o, q[ua]n[do] se han[n]o voluto p[re]stare ad altri:,o,si han[n]o voluto impignar[e]:senza ponere ordine a riscoterle:che per altro li pari nostri non debeno tener[e] zoglie se no[n] per una munitione da servirsene in li bisogni:et pero molto volu[n]teri mancho a V[ostra] Ex[cellentia] q[ue]lle ch[e] La mi ha richiesto,acio ch[e]:questo importa[n]te bisogno de la peste se ne possi servire a modo suo:ma non restaro per interesse suo de ricordarli che la pensi de metter[e] ordine ch[e] non solu[m] queste,ma quelle ch[e] gia tanto tempo hebe Cesare da Milano siamo riscosse:V[ostra] Ex[cellentia] scia et q[ua]nto tempo e che ne furono p[re]state al Conte Philippo Rosso:et ch[e] se no[n] fusse stata La importunita mia q[ua]n[do] V[ostra] S[ignoria] era fora di casa ch[e] anchora seriano tutte impigno:et in periculo de perderle.Restoli una croxetta che mai ho potuto havere se ben e stato da li mei solicitato non seria male ch[e] V[ostra] Ex[cellentia] gli ne facesse fare ricordo per Ptolomeo perch[e] forsi gli haveria magior[e] rispecto chel no[n] ha a me.Io facio Lofficio mio in persuaderla a tenere La robba sua in casa:Lei facti n[ost]ro il volere suo.Delandata mia a S[an]to Benedicto dove ho facto baptizare il puttino non scrivero altramente,remettendomi a q[ua]nto diffusam[en]te B[aptista] Codelupo dire haverli scripto.Il puttino sta bene et io insieme et in bona gr[ati]a de V[ostra] Ex[cellentia me raccomando.El Cusatro consignara a V[ostra] S[ignoria] dui zoielli extimati per m[ast]ro Zo[anne] francisco et m[ast]ro Nicolo duc[ati] mille quatrocento fin in cinquecento.Sachette xij Junij 1506.

Ex[cellentia] V[ostra]

Consors Isabella cu[m] R[acco]m[andatione]".

338.Fletcher,J.M.;"Isabella d'Este,Patron and Collector" (in Chambers, Martineau, 1981), pp.51,53. Martindale,A.H.R.;"The Patronage of Isabella d'Este at Mantua",Apollo,Vol.LXXIX,London,1964,pp.183-91 (p.183). Burke,P.;Tradition and Innovation in Renaissance Italy, London;1974.p.108.Hope,C.;"Artists,Patrons and Advisers in the Italian Renaissance",Patronage in the Renaissance (Eds.G.F.Lytle,S.Orgel),Princeton,1981,pp.293-343. Alsop,J.; The Rare Art Traditions.The History of Art Collecting and its linked Phenomena wherever these have appeared,New York,1982,pp.430-40. Cartwright, 1903, 1932, Vol.I,p.10.Kolsky,S.;"Images of Isabella d'Este",Italian Studies,Vol.XXXIX,1984,pp.47-62.San Juan,R.M.;"The Court Lady's Dilemma:Isabella d'Este and Art Collecting in the Renaissance",Oxford Art Journal,Vol.14,Oxford,1991,pp.67-78 (p.67).

339.Fletcher,1981,p.54.D'Arco,C.;Delle arti e artifici di Mantova,2 Vols., Mantua, 1857, Vol.II, p.73. Brown, 1976, pp.333,338-39,350.Kristeller,P.;Andrea Mantegna (German Ed.),Berlin,Leipzig,1902,pp.577,580-82.

340.Martindale,1964,p.183.

341.Fletcher,1981.pp.53,55.Cian,V.;"Pietro Bembo e Isabella d'Este Gonzaga",Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana,Vol.IX,Milan,1887,pp.81-136 (pp.84-85).Richter,G.;Giorgio da Castelfranco, Chicago,1937,p.304.Beltrami,L.;Documenti e memorie riguardanti la vita e le opere di Leonardo da Vinci, Milan,1919.p.51.Norton,P.;"The lost Sleeping Cupid of Michelangelo",Art Bulletin,Vol.XXXIX, Washington, Providence,1957,pp.251-57 (pp.251-52).

342.San Juan,1991,pp.67-78.

343.Ibid,p.69.Martindale,1964,pp.183-91.Weiss,R.;The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity, Oxford, 1969,pp.200ff.Martines,L.;Power and Imagination.City-States in Renaissance Italy,London,N.Y.,1979,pp.218-40.

344.Gundersheimer,W.L.;"Women,Learning and Power:Eleonora of Aragon and the Court of Ferrara",Beyond their Sex, Learned Women of the European Past (Ed.P.H.Labalme),New York,1980,pp.43-65.King,M.L.;"Book-Lined Cells:Women and Humanism in the Early Italian Renaissance",Ibid,pp.66-90. Woodward,W.H.;Vittorino da Feltre and Other Humanist Educators,New York,1963,pp.24-92,123-33.Kelly,J.;"Did Women Have a Renaissance?",Women,History and Theory.The Essays of Joan Kelly,Chicago,1986,pp.30-36. Javitch,D.;"Il Cortegiano and the constraints of Despotism", Castiglione.The Ideal and the Real in Renaissance Culture (Eds.D.Rosand,R.W.Hanning),New Haven,1983,pp.17-28.Greene,T.M.;"Il Cortegiano and the Choice of the Game",Ibid,pp.1-15.Jones,A.R.;"Nets and Bridles:Early Modern Conduct Books and Sixteenth-Century Womens' Lyrics",The Ideology of Conduct.Essays in Literature and History of Sexuality (Eds.N.Armstrong, L.Tennenhouse), London,1987,pp.42-48. Idem;"Surprising Fame:Renaissance Gender Ideologies and Womens' Lyric", The Poetics of Gender (Ed.N.K.Miller),New York, 1986, pp.76-78. Russell, 1992,pp.7-24.

345.San Juan,1991,pp.74-75. Fletcher,1981,p.51.Kolsky,1984,pp.55-57.

Chambers,D.S.:Patrons and Artists in the Italian Renaissance.London,1971,pp.124-50.

346.A.S.M.A.G.BUSTA.2110.F.II.6.(*Lettere originali*).All Isabella d'Este to Francesco II Gonzaga,1495.In the BUSTE 2110-116 covering the years 1496-1506 there are similar additions to the addresses but about a half to one-third as frequently.

f.2.Bozzolo 15 January
"cariss[ime] March[ese] Gonzage cito".

f.3.Cremona 16 January
"estate-Mantu[a]e cito cito".

f.4.Milan 20 January
"Mantu[a]e cito cito".

f.10.Milan 4 February
"Mantu[a]e cito cito cito sub p[ri]ma ferrarie".

f.15.Milan 12 February
"Mantu[a]e cito".

f.16.Milan 13 February
"Mantu[a]e cito".

f.19.Milan 16 February
"Mantu[a]e cito cito".

f.20.Milan 16 February
"Mantu[a]e cito".

f.22.Milan 19 February
"hore 23a M[a]tu[a]e cito cito".

f.26.Ferrara 14 May
"M[ediolan]i cito cito".

f.28.Ferrara 14 May
"cito cito".

f.29.Ferrara 10 May
"Ma[n]tu[a]e cito".

f.32.Ferrara 9 May
"Ma[n]tu[a]e cito cito".

f.33.Ferrara 1 May
"cito cito".

f.34.Ferrara 30 May
"cito cito".

f.35.Ferrara 30 April
"cito".

f.37 Ferrara 26 April
"cito".

f.38.Ferrara 24 April
"P[er] postas volant[issi]me".

f.40.Ferrara 22 April
"Mantu[a]e p[er] postas cito cito".

f.43.Milan 10 March
"Mantu[a]e cito".

f.48.Milan 2 March
"Mantu[a]e cito".

f.51.Milan 28 February
"i[d] e[st] hora xvja Mantu[a]e
cito cito".

f.53.Milan 25 February
"caneti cito cito Mantu[a]e".

f.149.Mantua 16 October
"[fe]litia Venetijs Castra cito cito cito".

347.Footnote 244.

348.Chiappini,1956,pp.45-46.Gruyer,1897,Vol.I,p p.410,578; Vol.II,pp.65,141-42.

349.A.S.M.A.G.BUSTA.1.(*Collezione volta d'Autografi*). Isabella d'Este to Francesco II Gonzaga,Ferrara 2 February 1502 (sections trans. in Cartwright, 1903, Vol.I,pp.202-05,however,they are not entirely accurate in detail,e.g.*trini* are triunes,i.e.,three-fold symbols, not simply triangles as asserted by Cartwright.);

"Ill[ustrissi]mo sig[no]re mio.Lordine de la intrata quale hozi ha facta questa Ill[ustrissima] sposa et q[ua]nto digno de advise ho notato sera descripto per me piu ordinatam[en]te ch[e] si potra.Primo de uno pezo venero li settantacinq[ue] balesterij a cavallo del sig[no]re mio p[at]re cu[m] saglioni tutti a livrea de panno biancho et rosso cu[m] tre capi diversam[en]te vestiti:seguitorono poi ottanta Trombetti fra quali erano sei dil Duca di Romagna vestiti de uno sagliono mezo di brocato doro et laltro mezo di raso Morello et biancho:vintiquatro tra Piffari et tromboni:dreto erano li Cortesani et nobili ferraresi senza ordine:fra quale furono centate settanta cathene:quale sotto sopra no[n] sonno di mancho p[re]tio de cinquecento ducati lima per essergline parechie da ottocento mille et fino in mille et ducento ducati:a quali seguitava La comittiva di la Duchessa de Urbino vestita di negro raso et veluto:Lo sig[no]re.Don Alphonso alparo cu[m] me[sser] Hanibale Bentivoglio serrava questo squadrone:La sig[no]ria sua era sopra uno cavallo grosso baio fornito de veluto morello guarnito de gran pezi doro batuto lavorato de relevo:in dosso havea uno sagliono de veluto berettino tutto coperto de scaglie doro batutu:nel quale col fornim[en]to dil cavallo dicono esser[e] sei mille ducati:In testa havea una beretta di veluto negro cu[m] stringhe doro battuto cu[m] penne bianche dentro:In gamba burzachini di sumacho berettino.Ala staffa havea otto staffieri quatro piccoli cioe puttini et quatro gran[de] cu[m] zuppone alla franciosa di brochato doro et veluto

morello cu[m] calce di panno morello et incarnato:Doppo andava la Comittiva de la sposa:fra laquale erano dece chioppe de spagnoli cu[m] saglij di brocato doro et di veluto negro cu[m] tavardi sopra di veluto ("et" crossed-out here and replaced by "fodrato di") brocato alcunaltri vestiti di veluto negro schietto:tra tutti loro sonno dodice cathene doro non molto gran[de]:quale faranno parangono a quelli de la compagnia mia:succedevano li Episcopi.cioe el vescovo de Hadria el vescovo di Comachio quello de Cernia,et dui mandati dal Papa:Apresso gli erano li ambasciatori acopiati a Dui:cioe,il Luchese et uno senese Laltro senese,et lo fiorentino:li Dui venetiani vestiti de Manti Longhi de Raso Cremesino fodrtij di pancie:li quatro ambasciatori Romani cu[m] Manti longhi di Brochato doro foderati di Reso Cremesino Dreto liquali erano sei tamburini,et li dos Aloches vestiti di brochato doro et raso de diversi colori:La sposa sotto il Baldichino di Raso cremesino portato da doctori:nanti laquale era menato a mano uno cavallo Leardo grosso donatoli dal sig[no]re guarnito di veluto cremesino cu[m] certi recam[at]ti doro otto stafferi suoi cu[m] ("zupponi" crossed-out here and replaced by "saglioni") dc Raso morello,et giallo et calze de li medemi colori:Lei cavalcava una Mula morella guarnita di veluto tutto coperto doro tirato cu[m] certi chiodetti doro batuto:ch[e] e una belissima,et richa cosa.In dosso havea una camorra cu[m] manighe larghe ala francesa de tela doro,et raso morello interserato a liste insieme:sopra havea una sbergna de oro tirato rizo alto,e,basso tutta aperta da uno canto fodrata de Armelini,et medesimam[en]te erano foderate le maniche de la vesta Al collo uno vezo de Diamanti et Rubini:qual fu dc la bona me:di Madama in testa la scuffia de Zoglie che li mando il sig[no]re mio p[ad]re a Roma insieme cu[m] q[ue]llo vezo:senza lenza:sei camereri de Don Alphonso la aredenavano vestiti diversam[en]te:ma tutti cu[m] cathene gran[de] al collo:Di fori dal balachino lo ambasciator[i] francese solo la accompagnava:Dreto la Duchessa de urbino,et lo sig[no]re mio patre a paro:La duch[e]ssa era a man dritto sopra una mulla morella fornita de veluto negro recamata de oro tirato in dosso una camorra di veluto negro tempestata de certi trini de oro battuto,ch[e] sonno signi di Astrologia.Al collo uno vezo di perle:in testa una scoffia doro:Il Sig[no]re Duca havea sotto uno cavallo morello guarnito di veluto negro,cu[m] uno Robono in dosso di veluto morello:Seguivano poi due Zentildonne:cioe d[onna] Hieronisma Borgia,et una n[o]stra vestite di veluto negro,et dreto li era M[adon]na Adriana vidua vechia parente dil Papa:Ne altre Donne gli erano a cavallo:M[adon]na.Lucretia Bentivoglia ne la caretta coperta di brocato doro cu[m] duodice altre carette piene di Zentildonne,de la sposa,ferrarese,et bolognese la seguitavano:Dreto erano conducte due mille pur de la sposa fornite di veluto negro guarnito de argente batuto diversam[en]te lavorato Muli cinquantasei coperti di panno morello,et giallo,et dodici coperti di raso morello,et giallo:Alcuni archi como per altre mie ho scripto a la Ex[cellentia] V[ostra] sonno per li cantono: dove la passava cu[m] certe representatio[n]e,ch[e] non

meritano co[m]memoratione:perho no[n] se ne tenuto conto:Ale vintiquatro hore gionse suso la piaza dove hebbe spectaculo de dui,ch[e] descesero gioso de le corde:uno da la torre de Rigobello in terra:Laltro da la torretta del palazo de la ragione:Ala scala de la Corte lo cu[m] la co[m]mittiva mia,et molte Zentildonne ferrarese la recolsi:Li balesterij rapirono il baldachino:li stafferi del sig[no]re mio patre et Don Alphonso contesero per haver[e] la mula:ma finalm[en]te q[ue]lle de Don Alphonso la obtenero:Da li Ambasciatori:el sig[no]re Don Alphonso La Duchessa de urbino,mi,et tutto il resto fu accompagnata per la sala gran[de] alle camere Ducale.quale sonno apparate de li apparam[en]ti di casa:Dove stati uno pezo tutti retornassimo alle stantie n[ost]re.Creddo ch[e] questa nocte se accompagnaranno:La sposa ha ben conducto cu[m] se sei regazi ma no[n] introronno cu[m] lei Di q[ua]nto altro alla giornata succedera la S[ignoria] V[ostra] ne sera advisata. et a q[ue]lla semp[re] mi recomando. p[re]gandola ad voler basar[e] il n[ost]ro puttino per mia parte.Ferrarie ij febr[uar]ij 1502.

Ex[cellentia]

Consors Isabella cu[m] R[accomandatio]ne".

350.Signorini,R.:"Gonzaga Tombs and Catafalques" (in Chambers,Martineau,1981),pp.3-13.
351.Ibid,pp.1,9-11.
352.Ibid,p.3.Resti-Ferrari,M;"Aggiunte al codice diplomatico mantegnesco del Kristeller",Atti Accademia Virgiliana,n.s.,Vols.XIX,XX,1926-27,pp.263-80,Repr.as fascicle.Modena,1928,pp.15-18.
353.Fletcher,(in Chambers, Martineau, 1981), pp.51,52. Cian,1887,p.106. Warnke,M.(Trans.D.McLintock);The court artist.On the ancestry of the modern artist.(Ideas in Context:Gen.Ed.,Q.Skinner.).Cologne,1985;Cambridge,1993, passim.Warnke's book is a thoroughly useful digest of the workings of the court and its system of patronage,from 1400 to 1700.However,there is nothing new concerning Mantegna or his relationship with the Gonzagas.Warnke is right to stress that the part played by the princely courts in cultural,economic and political matters was far more significant than that of the urban,mercantile "middle class".

CHAPTER 2.
THE ORIGIN,EVOLUTION AND CHARACTERISTICS OF MANTEGNA'S ART.

(a). Biographical details and formative influences.

Mantegna's career and art was characterised by an almost unparalleled intellectual understanding of the implications of the problems that arose from the demands that the rules of the new art made on artists, especially as far as symbolic or iconographic means and narrative content are concerned.This chapter attempts to make it clear that it is the way in which Mantegna treated content that is of special importance.The artist was particularly adept at discerning the common thematic thread or idea that could unite what were apparently disparate iconographic elements in a composition. The use of perspective was an essential tool in this matter.

Mantegna was born in 1430 or 1431.[1] Although there is still some controversy over the exact year when he was born,[2] most scholars would still accept either of these two dates. In 1441,when Mantegna was either ten or eleven years of age,he was brought to the city of Padua and entrusted to Francesco Squarcione (b.1394/97-d.1468) to be trained as a painter.[3] In 1447, Mantegna's first commission was from a master-baker.[4] In 1449,the patrician widow, Imperatrice Ovetari, commissioned from him many of the scenes for her family chapel.[5] In 1457, a notable cleric of an important family, Gregorio Correr, commissioned the San Zeno Altarpiece

at Verona.[6] It was now 1460: a significant point in Mantegna's career, which had advanced considerably in just thirteen years.[7] Mantegna entered the service of Lodovico II Gonzaga (b.1412,reg.1444-78.), the *Marchese* of Mantua.[8] For the remaining forty-six years of his life,to the early Autumn of 1506, Mantegna executed numerous works for his patrons. When not working for the Gonzaga, Mantegna would always be employed by great nobles and prominent ecclesiastics.[9]

In Mantegna's works, certain qualities of style are divinable and definable and would have rendered his approach peculiarly amenable to the requirements of his Gonzaga patrons. One is talking here about the fruitful meshing of two states of mind;that of Mantegna and those of his Gonzaga patrons.In chapter 1,it was shown how the state of mind of the Gonzagas manifested itself in the way they dealt with the problems facing them,how it governed (and saw its expression in) their patronage of the arts and letters. This state of mind,with its strategic, pragmatic and protagonistic nature may be set alongside that of Mantegna.

Mantegna's state of mind was synthetic, dramatic, emotional,economical and remarkably consistent in its artistic expression throughout his career. Pictorial effect was paramount and paradigmatic. The same approach to perspective,motif and colour was employed regardless of the subject.This may be surveyed in somewhat greater detail.

There was a monumental use of the main scenic motifs,i.e. mountains, tall buildings, cliffs ,etc, which

were repeated throughout Mantegna's entire career. His rendering of dramatic rock-formations has occasioned some comment:in this regard Mantegna's virtuoso treatment of rock-formations may be seen as a display of what the artist held to be an important manifestation and expression of an aspect of artistic skill.[10] This use of motifs was intimately linked with Mantegna's use of perspective, which took the form of strong foreshortenings and an unusual siting of the vanishing-point.[11] The resultant effect is emotional and dramatic.Mantegna displayed the greatest economy in his choice and use of motifs; this was especially the case with antique motifs. Mantegna's use of colour directly matched that of form. His palette was limited; strong local colours, true harmonies (to link the composition), but no attempt at atmospheric modification or modulation by *sfumato*. Detail and colour are sharp and hard.[12] *Grisaille* figures and architectural frameworks are also important. Mantegna's style and technique did not change much during his entire career. As far as Mantegna's painting technique is concerned,he did not deviate from the use of fresco,either *buon fresco* or *fresco secco* (for large-scale commissions), or tempera, or distemper (for smaller-scale works,and in the case of tempera,sometimes modified with the use of oil-glazes) throughout his life as an artist.[13] These matters of style and technique often pose problems,especially for the question of dating Mantegna's works. Circumstantial evidence is often important. Without this evidence, the chronological and visual significance of motifs is difficult to establish.

There is an invitation to impose theory on surviving visual evidence.

The situation becomes complicated further: Mantegna was a consummate conflator of visual and literary motifs.[14] His sense of naturalization in the "new art" of the Quattrocento and in the literary world of the Humanists was profound. His grasp of the full implications of both was absolute. Mantegna was a true spirit of the Renaissance in that his perception of formal perspective,visual and literary source-motifs was thoroughly dynamic throughout; his references might have been fluid, but the essence of the theme was retained. This brings one to a crucial point: it has significance for the whole of Mantegna's output. The world in which Mantegna moved and lived and worked was an Italy dominated by great magnates of Church and State.[15] Their cultural outlook and perception was not dynamic. It was static; or at any rate,essentially so. However, it is strange that Kristeller should detect an antipathy between Mantegna's religious works and his pagan and/or secular subjects. Kristeller sees this as the crystallization of a general situation that prevailed during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. According to him there was the "profoundest opposition" between Humanism and the spirit of the Catholic Church.[16] The progression of the sciences along the path of enquiry was inimicable to, and irreconcilable with, the efforts of the Church towards spiritual and temporal domination. While it is impossible to know with certainty the personal piety of Mantegna, it is surely the case that

the surviving works of the masters of the Italian Renaissance bear witness to the fact that the "new art" was acceptable to the Church, provided that the authority of Her teachings was not questioned or infringed in the conception and execution of works of art that depicted theological themes. One could argue that Mantegna's Brera Dead Christ is clear evidence of an intense, tender and genuine personal piety, expressed in Quattrocento iconographic terms. There is no evidence that he lived "only in the ancient world."[17] The Brera Dead Christ, the San Zeno Altarpiece and the Madonna della Vittoria are but three examples that refute Kristeller's claim that Mantegna was, "compelled to do violence to ecclesiastical sentiment in order to express his conception".[18] The origins, evolution and nature of Mantegna's artistic understanding of the order of the created world must now be set out in detail.

If, in spite of their doubts, scholars can more or less concur about Mantegna's date of birth, there will always be considerable controversy over the precise and exact interaction of the various influences that moulded the mind of the young Mantegna. First of all, we need to assess the role of Francesco Squarcione: Squarcione, a one-time tailor and embroiderer, who changed his livelihood to that of a painter and who accepted both paying and non-paying apprentices as his "sons". The precise quality of the teaching that Squarcione had to offer is likely to remain nebulous.[19] Certainly, the few surviving autograph works of Squarcione could hardly have inspired or instructed the young Mantegna to any

great degree.[20] As with most of Squarcione's pupils.with the possible exception of Schiavone and Zoppo, the approach to the new style. the rendering of perspective and anatomy, is entirely formulaic.[21] There is little or no authentic grasp of the perceptual implications. The compositions are not in any sense cohesive or integrated in the way that figures and context are presented. Above all,the viewer will look in vain for that essential contiguity of the fall of light upon subject and context. It should be made clear that Squarcione's "adoption scheme" for his apprentices (whereby he was guaranteed to secure a return on his "investments" by pocketing the proceeds derived from commissions executed by his "sons" until they reached their legal majority) was a perfectly common,and lawful, practice among masters at this time.[22] However, Squarcione may have abused it, as a notable number of his pupils rebelled against it.[23] Mantegna was one of these: he gained the right to retain proceeds from his work from the court at Venice in January,1448. This would not be the last legal dispute that Mantegna would have with Squarcione. Throughout his life, Mantegna would prove to be an habitual, fierce and resolute litigant.

The legal documents relevant to the career of Giovanni Antonio Amadeo (chief architect of the Duomo at Milan, from 1481 to his death in 1522) shed further light on Mantegna's own situation with Squarcione and make it clear that it was not only a question of financial gains but also of the right to independent action. However,the *emancipatio* or *licentia* necessary to secure this right

had to be obtained with the willing consent of one's legal father. The reasons for the refusal of parents to allow legal separation cannot be known exactly in most cases; it is most probable that fathers did not wish to lose control over their sons' incomes.

The frequency of these legal disputes during the fifteenth century is no grounds for Lightbown's assertion that they should not be seen as necessarily serious in Mantegna's case.[24] The fact that Squarcione was repeatedly invoked as an assessor during the execution of the Ovetari frescoes does not necessarily imply personal reconciliation between him and Mantegna.What was probably done was to strike a legal *pax* between the two parties. The normal purpose of this was to avoid protracted inter-familial vendettas.Amadeo had resorted to it when his son was murdered in Pavia. A similar,if not identical, settlement was probably reached between Mantegna and Squarcione.

The real inspiration and guidance for the youthful Mantegna came from the works of a number of great Masters,both living and dead. Giotto, Altichiero, Donatello, Castagno, Uccello, Giovanni d'Alemagna, Antonio and Bartolommeo Vivarini may all be legitimately cited in this respect.The question here is where the emphasis of influence lies.It is axiomatic that artists are drawn to those other members of their profession whose originality and style of perception matches their own.[25]

Giotto (b.1266-d.1337), Uccello (b.1396/97-d.1475) and Donatello (b.1386-d.1466) were without question the

dominant formative influences. There was nothing of the native Paduan School to match what these visiting masters had created.[26] A supreme grasp of the plastic world and, in the case of Uccello and Donatello,a truly dynamic perception of time and space.[27] The exact dates of execution for the frescoes painted by Giotto in the Capella Scrovegni are uncertain. Most scholars would place them between 1303 and 1313.[28] One can join with Gnudi in calling them,"the most epic moment in his poetical work".[29] The fifty-seven scenes are all articulated by a massive painted architectural framework.[30] This framework could well have inspired Mantegna's own efforts at articulating the scenic narrative in the Eremitani Frescoes.[31] The next matter that would have attracted Mantegna's attention (apart from Giotto's treatment of heavy,plastic volume) would have been the distribution of figures (both as groups and as individuals) in the compositions.Giotto was extremely skillful at using the bulk of his figures to convey the weight of the emotional force represented in the theme of the compositions.The eye is drawn to the group or the relevant individual figure by their being arranged around the subject.The figures convey the onlooker to the subject (very often) by the direction of their gaze.[32]

It is clear that Mantegna could have been inspired and influenced by the monochrome allegorical figures (or Personifications) of Attributes and Vices.[33] These would have given Mantegna the inspiration for his own monochrome figures of the Saints and the colossal head in the Eremitani Chapel at Padua.[34] The broad style of

Giotto's figures, as well as their monochrome rendering, gives them weight and force. Perhaps,more importantly here, it is that combination of colour and monochrome schemes, in the entire decorative scheme of the Cappella Scrovegni (which by their very nature would intensify each other's impact on the viewer),which provoked Mantegna to do the same in the Eremitani Frescoes.The use of colour and monochrome schemes together was to be a feature of Mantegna's art throughout his career.

In all the scenes of his Scrovegni cycle, Giotto handled the sky in a *plein air* manner. There are no clouds.[35] This approach would almost certainly be deliberate. An artist who could depict plants in some detail in the Noli Me Tangere scene [36], for example, could easily have employed more aerial details.The rich blue of Giotto's skies is a magnificent foil for his compositional groups. His approach to landscape was also the same.[37] It did not have the expressive function that Mantegna would give it in his Eremitani frescoes (and in most of his works in which a scenic context was employed). In common with Masaccio and Donatello,Giotto's broad style translated equally well into large or small-scale works with no loss of expressive power. However,it must be stressed that Giotto was no "cabinet artist". The young Mantegna would have been struck by the sheer scale of the Scrovegni Cycle.

Uccello was in Padua from January 1445 to sometime in 1446. when he returned to Florence.While in Padua, Uccello (according to Vasari) met Donatello.[38] He also executed a series of *Giganti*, in *terra verde*,in the Casa

Vitaliani. These frescoes are now destroyed. Again, according to Vasari,these figures (of various historical characters,both actual and mythical,including Charles, King of Sicily, and Adam and Eve) made a great impression on Mantegna.[39] The young artist would have noted (as he would also have when he undoubtedly saw Uccello's frescoes depicting episodes from the Life of Noah in the Chiostro Verde in Sta.Maria Novella during his visit to Florence in 1466) the rugged and satisfying strength and sense of weight that monochrome brings to any composition, especially a large-scale work intended for public display.

Donatello would probably been brought to the notice of Mantegna through the agency of Niccolò Pizzolo.[40] Donatello was engaged upon the design and execution of the High Altar of San Antonio at Padua during the years 1446-50. The crucial question here is not about merely what was visually available but also how did Donatello see (and, therefore, interpret) space? One characteristic stands out: space was a continuum; real space and portrayed (or delineated) space were one entity.Space was that vital (albeit abstract and invisible) medium by means of which the spectator became intimately and immediately involved with a portrayed event.[41] The spectator had to be decisively-linked with the depicted event. Donatello achieved this in a variety of ways at Padua.[42] The best illustration of this may be studied in in the four bronze relief-panels relating the Four Miracles of St.Anthony. These were rightly admired and considered important from the beginning of their

execution and installation.With the exception of the Heart of The Miser scene, all panels were executed in the Spring of 1447.[43] One need only study the panel showing the Healing of The Wrathful Son to appreciate those crucial elements which would have excited Mantegna's attention.[44] Most importantly, Donatello has achieved a complete integration of the figures with the architectural background. Both figures and the architectural elements have been interwoven in what appears at first sight to be a chaotic and disordered distribution of shapes. The effect of this arrangement of physical contours and curves with the perspective recession of the straight lines of the buildings is to inject life into the drama. The viewer changes from being a spectator to becoming a participant. The compositional devices provoke him to experience the emotions of the figures portrayed. One cannot agree with the scholar who typically asserts that,"the breathless vitality of Donatello's narrative style clearly meant very little" to Mantegna.[45] The Eremitani Frescoes would show clearly that Mantegna was fully-aware of the implications of the style and technique of Donatello. He had seen a consummate demonstration of the use of perspective and arrangement of figures to create a powerful emotional (and dramatic) effect.

From Altichiero, Mantegna would have acquired the use of fine, meticulous detail, coupled with the employment of rich,glowing colours and also the insertion of portrait types in multi-figure compositions.It should be said that the use of rich colour (often tricked out in

gold) was a well-established tradition in Lombardy and the Veneto.[46] It reveals the influence of Byzantine art. Certainly, Mantegna was using gold to accentuate highlights right up to the end of his career.[47]

With the matter of rich colour it is relevant to bring in the possibility of Northern (especially Flemish) influence on the young Mantegna. Many of the great Flemish masters were either active, at various times, in Italy during the Quattrocento, or works by them were well-known and appreciated by the Italians.[48] Van Eyck's paintings were known at Florence, Genoa, Urbino, Naples, Lucca, Padua and Milan. Indeed more than one work known at Genoa and Naples.[49] Roger van der Weyden's works were known at Turin, Genoa, Florence, Pesaro, Naples and Venice (with more than one painting being known at Pesaro, Naples and Venice).[50] The paintings of Petrus Christus were known at Naples, Palermo and Florence.[51] Those of Hans Memling were available at Florence, Venice and Padua (more than one painting of his being known in all three of the latter cities).[52] Gerard David (early sixteenth century) had more than one work known at Genoa.[53] This is also the case with Hugo van der Goes at Florence.[54] There is evidence of other Flemish Masters active at Genoa and Venice, but no surviving works can be identified for certain.[55]

It is true enough that one of the most striking aspects of van Eyck's style is one of an all-pervading silence and immobility. The overwhelming impression is of time standing still; there is no apparent story to tell;movement is arrested.This "stillness" has been

indicated as one of the dominant qualities of Mantegna's Eremitani frescoes.[56] However, it is Roger van der Weyden who is the master more likely to have influenced Mantegna.It is in the Prado Deposition (c.1443) that one may see those aspects of van der Weyden's style with which Mantegna would find affinity,and,possibly ,by which he would be inspired.[57] Van der Weyden has arranged his figures around a boldly-truncated cross set against a gold background. The figures, in texture like a group of polychrome sculptures, have been skilfully-arranged to give a portrayal of grief that is intense but restrained. Above all, it is quite apt to say that van der Weyden,"never did paint flesh to look like flesh".[58] In this work, as in the Uffizi Lamentation (1440's) [59] and in the Last Judgement triptych (1441-51?,Hôtel-Dieu,Beaune) [60],van der Weyden uses rich colours in local, strong, complimentary arrangements without any attempt at modulation or *sfumato*. This tectonic use of colour,together with frank, unflattering portrayals of people, would be a dominant feature of Mantegna's style throughout his career.[61]

Influence and inspiration also came from the antique.[62] In Mantegna's case (unlike that of his artistic contemporaries), the spirit of receptivity was all-embracing: epigraphy and paleography were as important as was antique sculpture and architectural remains.[63] He would gain the respect of his Humanist acquaintances for his understanding of the literature of the ancient Classical world.[64] The main source of antique influence and inspiration was sculptural remains.[65] The

direct, intimate and concrete experience of the (often fragmentary) surviving examples carried an authority which no ancient authors could exert through description. As far as antique culture is concerned,Mantegna's sense of naturalisation was as profound here as it was in the "new art" of the Quattrocento and in Humanist culture.[66] Important early recognition of Mantegna's appreciation of Humanist culture is provided by Felice Feliciano,in the dedicating of his Alphabetum Romanum (1464.) to,"....the magnificent Andrea Mantegna, the incomparable painter...my incomparable friend, partly because I know that thou art a great lover and student of Antiquity....Accept, therefore, willingly this my gift. If thou wilt read it and read it again, thou wilt reap no little profit from a knowledge of the elegant style of the ancients, and above all thou wilt learn the orthography, to which many are today so indifferent that they must be described as barbarians rather than Latins..."

(b). The development and consolidation of the essential stylistic elements;1449-60.

In 1449,Mantegna received his first major commission:the widow, Imperatrice Ovetari, wished to decorate the family chapel in the Church of the Eremitani in Padua with scenes from the lives of St.James the Greater and St.John.[67] Mantegna would also be engaged in portraying scenes from the Life of St.Christopher. One sees in the Ovetari frescoes the origins and development

of the essential characteristics of Mantegna's independent style. In the years 1449-56, Mantegna not only used perspective, foreshortening and colour with ever greater virtuosity, but also displayed a rapidly-increasing ability to sacrifice strict realism for a thoroughly persuasive pictorial effect. That acute insight, which enabled Mantegna to create plausible new antique motifs from widely-disparate (if authentic) elements, was present from the start. That insight would see its development and extension in Mantegna's ability to conflate both visual and literary themes. All the scenes of the Ovetari frescoes were framed by a simulated framework of carved stone.[68] This use of an assertive frame for the "window" through which the scene is depicted, while being an integral part of the perspective-scheme, was a fundamental and central aspect of Mantegna's style. It would be used in the San Zeno Altarpiece (albeit modified), in the *Camera Picta* (modified still further) and, by implication of the designs, in the scheme for the Triumphs of Caesar. Very many of the smaller works (most notably,the Berlin Presentation in The Temple) display its use as well.

It is correct to see four successive stages of stylistic development in the Ovetari frescoes.[69] The first, from the years 1449-50, is represented by the figures of SS.Peter, Paul and Christopher.[70] These figures flanked Niccolò Pizzolo's figure of God the Father on the vault of the tribune. They were adjacent to the scenes of The Calling of James and John and The Preaching of St.James. The figures of the saints float on

clouds against a blue background. They display sculptural solidity with a simple pose of flexed right leg. The draperies appear to follow, generically, an antique design; however,the source is difficult to ascertain.This first stage also includes the first two scenes that Mantegna painted, in 1450. They were The Calling of James and John and The Preaching of St.James.[71] These scenes represent the first use of landscape by Mantegna. In the Calling one sees those soaring, rugged mountains that were to be a favourite device of Mantegna's. There is also a deliberate contrast between large-scale foreground figures and tiny figures of people ascending a winding mountain road. This is an effective motif for creating a sense of distance. It may well have been inspired by Northern (esp.Flemish) masters: van der Weyden is a plausible influence.[72] The scene of The Preaching of St.James is notable for two things: there is the first manifestation of the strong foreshortening that would be so characteristic of Mantegna; there is the first *all'antica* architectural setting. The marked foreshortening is apparent in the projection of the arched niche and in the open door. The use of only a few figures and the air of austere eloquence that this, and the general setting creates, tempts one to consider the possibility of Mantegna having read Alberti's De Pictura. This matter is debatable: there is no evidence that Mantegna had, at this point, fully-mastered the principles of unified, single-point perspective as described in De Pictura.[73] The orthogonals in The

Preaching of St.James do not converge to any single point (as has been checked).

It may never be known precisely when Mantegna came to know Albertian perspective. The issue is fraught with problems of time, place and circumstance. Donatello may well prove to be the crucial figure here. Although the customary view that unified single-point perspective was a Florentine "import" to Padua may have to be revised, it is none the less the case that it is unlikely that Mantegna would have worked out the full technique independently. This would especially be the case if one is considering the determination of the transversals and the foreshortening of the human figure.

It is crucial to bear in mind that in any discussion of the genesis, evolution and use of formal perspective one must keep distinct the matters of perception and representation. They are by no means the same thing, yet they can be confused with one another. Kemp, Massing and Gebhardt rightly draw caution to the idea of anyone attempting to understand perspectival proceedures without an intimate acquaintance with the physical evidence or with the written evidence of the design methods involved. There is a particular danger of forcing a spurious regularity on a composition in order to achieve a desired level of geometrical intricacy.It is especially important to remember that Uccello,for example,used different perspectival schemes in response to the particular demands of scale, setting and narrative that each given subject posed. The same could be said concerning Mantegna. The sense of harmonious interval and proportion

in The Preaching of St.James is enlivened by anecdote. One may see a figure bending over and stopping his ears with his cloak. This motif might have been inspired by Avanzi's fresco of St.James Disputing.[74]

It is certain that Mantegna had grasped the principles of unified single-point perspective during 1450. It is fully-apparent in the scenes which represent the second stage of his early stylistic development: The Baptism of Hermogenes and The Trial of St.James.[75] These scenes were probably painted during 1450 and 1451. Mantegna now employs Albertian perspective with great virtuosity. He uses it to unify both compositions by making the orthogonals of both scenes converge on a point on the dividing architectural framework.The architectural setting and the disposition of the figures are used to achieve further unity.In both scenes one sees a courtyard framed by classical buildings.In The Baptism of Hermogenes the main figures are placed on the left to balance those placed towards the right of the scene,in The Trial of St.James. There is a greater verisimilitude of setting and costume.[76] This care to portray buildings and the dress of Classical antiquity with greater accuracy was also matched by the care to portray oriental costume. This may be seen in The Baptism of Hermogenes. Mantegna was very probably influenced by Altichiero here. In the frescoes painted by him for the Chapel of San Giacomo in the Santo at Padua (1374-79) and in those for the Oratorio di San Giorgio (1377-84), Altichiero portrayed oriental costume with a marked verisimilitude.[77] Altichiero may have been responsible

for inspiring the use of another effective device: the accessory figures in The Baptism of Hermogenes, which are as large as the principal figures,are shown with their backs toward the viewer.[78] However,Mantegna could have seen this used in Giotto's frescoes for the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua (e.g.,in the scene of The Arrest of Jesus,also known as The Judas Kiss).[79] Perhaps it might also have become known to him by way of a drawing (through Donatello) of Masaccio's fresco of The Tribute Money in the Brancacci Chapel at Florence (1427). A marked impression of depth and space is provided by the portrayal of the main action in the middle ground of both compositions. This impression is also conveyed by the sharp contrasts of scale in the figures portrayed in The Baptism of Hermogenes. In this scene,the figures on the upper floors of the building are greatly-reduced in size in relation to those on the ground: much more so than formal perspective would decree.In both The Baptism of Hermogenes and The Trial of St.James the first appearance is made of what would become a central characteristic of Mantegna's style: the lateral extension of space is suggested by figures turning aside or being cut off by the vertical frame of the composition. Donatello was probably the inspiration for this.[80] Mantegna probably emphasized the lateral extension of space to a greater extent than any other master of the Quattrocento. This emphasis of lateral space would see its zenith in The Triumphs of Caesar much later. The swags and scrambling *putti*,which occupy the upper part of both scenes, emphasize the recession into depth away from the viewer's

position. This device could equally well have been invented by Mantegna as by Squarcione.[81] It could also have been inspired by Antique examples, but none can be known for certain.

In both The Baptism of Hermogenes and The Trial of St.James, Mantegna was careful to adjust the height of the vanishing-point with the height of the individual compositions from the floor. Thus,an authentic relationship between the viewer's real space and the space described in the compositions is achieved. Mantegna successfully reconciled the the laws of formal Albertian perspective with the requirements of clear, didactic exposition and the limitations imposed by the setting. It would be no exaggeration to say that,in the Ovetari frescoes, one sees Donatello's bronze panels for the San Antonio High Altar translated into fresco. Mantegna has followed Donatello's example of treating real space and delineated space as a continuum. In The Trial of St.James there is much more antique detail.[82] The motifs probably came from two main sources:Jacopo Bellini's drawings [83] and the advice of Humanist scholars, such as Giovanni Marcanova [84] (who,in turn,might have gleaned details from Cyriac of Ancona).[85] Mantegna would also have looked at a number of antique remains himself.In this respect,the real originality of The Trial of St.James lies in the greater homogeneity of the Roman costumes,as far as detail is concerned.[86] Thus, Mantegna had achieved a distinct advance upon the renderings of antique armour by such earlier artists as Guariento (in The Angelic Host, Chapel of the Palazzo Carrarese) and Altichiero (in the

figure of Fortitude, Chapel of San Giacomo).[87] One should also note Mantegna's use of colour in this scene. Pictorial effect and compositional unity are as important as naturalistic effect. This is especially conspicuous in the treatment of the armour of the Roman soldiers.[88] Mantegna very much preferred to "tune-up" colour harmonies with strong local tints with little or no attempt at modulation. Thus it is that one sees another dominant stylistic trait established at this stage of his career. It would not, however, be true to say that Mantegna was necessarily unaware of the modifying effects of distance and atmosphere on colour. Any *sfumato* passages would have weakened the impact of his hard, lapidary rendering of motifs and weakened the emotional impact of the compositions.It is tempting to see the depiction of an evening sky, in The Trial of St.James (this may be seen through the central span of the generic triumphal arch, and also, to the right of it), as the first use by Mantegna of light for an emotional effect.[89] However,its role in the composition is somewhat too ambiguous for any firm assessment to be made. This may be contrasted with the effect achieved in the Agony in The Garden (c.1455),National Gallery,London.[90] Here,one may see the dawn rising above the place where Judas Iscariot is leading the soldiers who will arrest Christ.The inevitable coming of the day reflects, perhaps, the inevitable fate of Our Lord and Saviour as related in the New Testament account.

Turner is sensitive and precise in many of his observations concerning the differences between

Mantegna's approach to the Agony in The Garden and that of Bellini. He rightly emphasizes the innovative quality of Bellini's painting, but misunderstands Mantegna's masterly composition involving the relation of figures to landscape in terms of pure form, rendered in colours which present no subtle undertones. It is certainly not true that, "the sensitivity towards living things is gone in him,and he cares not to probe the minds of his figures". Rather it is the case,as Ames-Lewis has pointed out,that Mantegna has used his mastery of composition to convey a drama that has a potent doctrinal meaning and that he has achieved this aim by making Christ the fulcrum of the clash between salvation and evil.[91] The great intensity of detail,combined with the adamantine (if well-harmonised) hues, all of which are bathed in an even light, serves to convey all too well the intensity of Christ's Agony. At no time is the viewer permitted to escape the awesome pathos of the event. The generic landscape and the compressed delineation of spatial recession (often ambiguous in its portrayal of relationships of scale), is theatre at its best. Turner would appear to have read Mantegna's composition literalistically and to have failed to notice its legitimate theatricality.

Late in 1451, Mantegna stopped work on the Ovetari frescoes.The Ovetari family had run short of funds for the moment. During the years 1451-54, Mantegna carried out a number of commissions which are important in terms of his stylistic development. Two datable examples will be returned to shortly. Mantegna resumed work on the

Ovetari frescoes in 1454. During 1454 and 1455, he painted the two scenes which represent the third stage of his stylistic development.[92] These are St.James on the Way to Execution and The Execution of St.James. The former subject was assigned to Mantegna following the death of Niccolò Pizzolo in a quarrel (1453).[93] There is a great contrast between the mood of these two scenes and that of the previous two. Drama has replaced calm dignity.[94] Mantegna has ensured that the viewer will be thoroughly overawed and moved by the sheer emotional and dramatic weight of the themes. Many fresh and bold uses of perspective achieve this end. The central aspect here is the *di sotto in sù* perspective. This was probably borrowed from Donatello.[95] In the St.James on the Way to Execution, all the orthogonals meet on a single horizon below the line of sight. The (generic) triumphal arch stands at the summit of the incline that curves down away from the viewer. In doing this, Mantegna was reversing the usual practice of his time. The emotional charge of the composition is rendered much more potent. The triumphal arch and the other buildings loom up intimidatingly before the viewer and awesomely symbolize the powers that St.James has offended. In The Execution of St.James (1455), the composition has not been arranged to match its companion as was the case with The Trial of St.James and The Baptism of Hermogenes. The point of sight is very low in the case of both of the scenes depicting the fate of St.James, but in The Execution of St.James, the projection of the ground does not follow the point of sight. A very high hill adjacent to the

looming void framed by the triumphal arch in the scene of St.James on the Way to Execution sustains the impact through strong contrast.It avoids the risk of an anti-climax. There is a much stronger suggestion of space. This is achieved by the great triangle of open sky in the top-right of the composition and by the massive hill on the left which rises high in deepening recession. The winding road that connects the city of Jerusalem with the foreground at the base of the hill, and the rustic fence disposed parallel to the picture-plane across the front of the scene, place both real and pictorial space in continuity. The diminished scale of the background is emphasized by the tree in the foreground. The dramatic and emotional effect of all this is identical to that achieved in the St.James on the Way to Execution.

In these two scenes there has been a definite change in Mantegna's handling of form and colour. Form has become relatively softer; colour somewhat warmer. There has been some debate as to the cause of this. It may have been the influence of Jacopo Bellini.[96] This is more likely than the comments of Squarcione.[97] The change is best seen in the large grey horse portrayed to the left, in the scene of The Execution of St.James. The horse itself (the mount of one of the soldiers watching the imminent beheading of the Saint) is shown in foreshortened projection. This motif could have been inspired by Altichiero.[98] It could possibly have been due to the influence of Jacopo Bellini.[99]

The years 1456-57 saw the fourth stage of Mantegna's early stylistic development and the completion of the

Ovetari frescoes.[100] The works in question are The Assumption of The Virgin.[101] There are also the two scenes depicting the Martyrdom of St.Christopher.[102] In the former work, Mantegna was again carrying out a commission originally awarded to Niccolò Pizzolo.[103] The Assumption of The Virgin is an excellent example of the virtuousity that Mantegna exercised towards this event from the New Testament. In the scene of St.James on the Way to Execution there had been a slight departure from the account given in the Legenda Aurea.[104] Apparently, this had not incurred the displeasure of Imperatrice Ovetari. It was to be a different story with The Assumption of The Virgin.[105] There were only eight Apostles shown. The narrowness of the wall at the chosen location and the low viewpoint may have been reasons for the omission. In the consequent dispute,Mantegna was sued by Imperatrice Ovetari. One is happy to say that the composition was not altered.The scene of the Assumption is enclosed within a simulated framework of a tall and narrow arch decorated with acanthus stems. Mantegna used a daring innovation: he showed The Virgin rising into Heaven at night; he also displayed great audacity in leaving the middle part of the composition empty. This gap, and the low viewpoint below the bottom of the composition,emphasized the upward movement of The Virgin into space.

In the two scenes depicting the Martyrdom of St.Christopher, Mantegna employed an even more sophisticated way of simulating three-dimensional space. The unified scheme of a common setting for both of the

scenes of The Baptism of Hermogenes and The Trial of St.James is carried further. The architectural motifs are continuous across the viewer's horizon and only divided by an Ionic column rendered in slight relief, which serves as the one division of space and time separating the events of the Saint's martyrdom. The orthogonals of both scenes converge to a common point low down on the column.The composition recalls Fra Filippo Lippi's predella-panel depicting the Annunciation (now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,New York.). This panel is generally thought to date from the years 1443-45. It may have been part of an altarpiece that was in the Chiesa delle Murate in Florence. The Angel of the Annunciation and The Virgin are in an architectural setting that is divided by a central *all'antica* column.It is tempting to think that Mantegna could have been inspired by Lippi's panel as it is perfectly possible that Mantegna could have seen it when he was in Florence. However,Mantegna is not recorded as being in Florence before 1466. Time and space for both viewer and the portrayed events have, again, become a continuum. The problem of scaling posed by the necessarily giant figure of St.Christopher was effectively solved by Mantegna.In the first scene (to the viewer's left) he placed the Saint in the extreme left foreground.In the second,Mantegna showed the Saint's decapitated body in a strongly-foreshortened view (with the feet towards the onlooker).The inspiration for the former motif may well have been a drawing by Jacopo Bellini.[106] For the latter motif,Mantegna may have drawn upon Pliny's famous description of Timanthes' picture of

a sleeping Cyclops.[107] This was also mentioned by Alberti in his De Pictura.[108] The ornaments on the palace of King Dagnus are supposedly based on copies from drawings of the Temple of Hadrian at Ephesus. The possibility is strong that Mantegna could have derived these copies from originals by Cyriac of Ancona. Cyriac is definitely known to have drawn and described the temple of Hadrian at Cyzicus.[109] There is no reason to suppose that he could not have visited and drawn the Temple of Hadrian at Ephesus.

Mantegna's attitude to the antique is clear. What is significant is what he did with what was available to him (from whatever source). Mantegna's knowledge of antique remains (sculptural, architectural, numismatic, etc) may have been limited; however,his portrayals of the antique world are plausible because of the much greater homogeneity of motifs used than was the case with most other Quattrocento masters (e.g. Piero della Francesca). This greater homogeneity was ensured by the judicious repetition (with small modifications were necessary) of known authentic motifs. Mantegna would retain this approach for the rest of his career. Because of his acute and deep insight into the manner of the articulation of the art and architecture of antiquity, Mantegna never had (or felt) the need to venture beyond his native territory specifically in order to supplement his knowledge, although he went to Rome much later on in response to a request from Pope Innocent VIII to Francesco II Gonzaga for Mantegna to paint some frescoes for a small room that was destroyed in the eighteenth century. The antique was

one of a number of essential components in Mantegna's generic use of motifs to create mood and atmosphere.Its qualities of sculptural and plastic solidity,especially as seen on sarcophagal reliefs,were eminently suited to the conveying of emotional impact. This pursuit of an aesthetic ideal to create mood was probably inspired by Altichiero and Alberti.[110] It was the same in the portrayal of (often coarse-featured) individual personalities in the Ovetari frescoes.[111] Plutarch could also have been an influence here.[112]

During the enforced break (1451-54) from work on the Ovetari frescoes, Mantegna carried out a number of commissions. Two may be dated with certainty and are important as indicators of the development of Mantegna's style. They are The Sacred Monogram held by St.Anthony of Padua and St.Bernardino and the St.Luke Polyptych.[113] The former was originally sited over the central doorway of the Santo in Padua, the latter is now in the Brera at Milan.The fresco of the Sacred Monogram (which bears the date 22 July,1452 on the marble support) is now in the Presidenza dell'Arca del Santo di Padova. It is the first example of the use of *di sotto in sù* perspective by Mantegna.It is also an excellent witness to his profound grasp of the psycho-physical nature of sight. The depth into space is not delineated in accordance with exact perspective requirements. The point from which the Sacred Monogram hangs is forward of the vertical plane of the ledge below. Nevertheless, the eye reads the composition as if the point of suspension of the Sacred Monogram, its

surface and the edge of the parapet (on which the Saints are kneeling) were all on one vertical plane.[114]

The St.Luke Polyptych is no longer in its florid, Gothic frame. This frame indicates the relative conservatism of its commissioner,the Abbot dei Folperti, who requested the Polyptych for the Chapel of St.Luke in the monastery church of Sta. Giustina in Padua. It was painted between August 1453 and November 1454.[115] The sensibilities of both Mantegna and his patron were reconciled in a way that was simple and radical and almost without precedent in the Quattrocento: Mantegna treated the traditional gold background, against which the the saints have been portrayed, as space and not as a plane.The perspective-scheme and the modelling of light on the figures of the saints reveals this. They stand in heavenly light.[116]

No subsequent assessment of Mantegna's other major works can be authentic without a detailed knowledge and understanding of his artistic state of mind as it developed in the Ovetari frescoes. In all his later works one sees the consolidation and extension of the influence and lessons of the Ovetari frescoes. It would be three years before Mantegna would finally respond to the entreaties of Lodovico II Gonzaga (b.1412,reg.1444-1478) and move to his permanent home in Mantua in 1460. The main reason could have been the San Zeno Altarpiece (San Zeno, Verona).[117] The Altarpiece was commissioned by Gregorio Correr (b.,c.1411-d.1464) in 1457. He was the governor of the Monastery of San Zeno at Verona.This commission constitutes the first concrete evidence that

Mantegna's reputation had extended beyond Padua. There was no other artist of Mantegna's standing in Verona (or elsewhere in Lombardy or the Veneto) following Pisanello's death (c.1455).[118] In the San Zeno Altarpiece one sees a considerable extension and expansion of the perspective-scheme of the St.Christopher scenes in the Ovetari frescoes: the emphasis of lateral space alongside recession into distance,together with the subordination of formal realism for pictorial effect,are clearly evident.The emphasis of lateral space is achieved by the frieze, the sky and the Uccellesque rose-hedge, all of which may be seen through the intervals of the pillars of the pavilion. There is rich colour,contrasted with much *grisaille*-work (in the architectural motifs) and *all'antica* ornament. One sees a covered pavilion, oblong in plan, that is open on all sides. The rich,heavy swags of fruit and vegetables that are suspended across the three openings of the pavilion are a motif that Mantegna would continue to use in many of his works. Thus,in the San Zeno Altarpiece, one sees what will be dramatically expanded and extended further in the *Camera Picta* frescoes. Both the San Zeno Altarpiece and the *Camera Picta* frescoes have survived reasonably intact in their original settings (which cannot be said for most of Mantegna's works) and give the viewer a good opportunity to appreciate Mantegna's original intentions.

As far as the perspective-scheme of the Altarpiece is concerned, the single,slightly-embossed pillar of the St.Christopher scenes in the Ovetari frescoes has become a richly-gilded and carved wooden frame. The form of the

(original) frame is to Mantegna's own design,though it may not have been executed by him.[119] It is unfortunate that time has altered the colour-relationship of the real and the simulated pillars of the frame and the composition. It has muted the impact of the effect of the continuity of the actual space occupied by the viewer and the artificial space portrayed in the main panels. This effect was achieved by the siting of the vanishing-point to coincide with the eye-level of the viewer in the church. The colour-scheme of the Altarpiece gives evidence of the rapid development of another central aspect of Mantegna's style: the near-constant use of colour with monochromatic schemes. The rich,strong colours of the swags and of the draperies of the Virgin,and the saints who flank her on either side, are greatly-enhanced by the monochrome of the architectural structure of the pavilion and its associated motifs.These *all'antica* motifs (which consist of *putti* holding *grisaille* swags, cornucopiae and equestrian motifs set in medallions) have probably been derived from sculptural fragments and numismatic sources.[120] They have been portrayed against a background of simulated marble (on the frieze behind the Virgin's head).[121] This juxtaposition emphasizes the plastic strength of the *grisaille* motifs and would see its culmination in a series of monochrome compositions executed by Mantegna towards the end of his career. The *grisaille* technique not only provides an opportunity to achieve compositional unity by means of a monochromatic presentation but also to display an authentic knowledge of the distribution of

light on bodies in space.One should note Mantegna's economical use of *all'antica* motifs here: the coffered ceiling of the pavilion sheltering the saints and The Virgin displays the same design as had been used on the soffit of the great triumphal arch framing the figure of St.James in the scene of St.James on the Way to Execution in the Ovetari frescoes.

Predella-panels were often exploited by artists for experiment and innovation. They were less immediately noticeable; any departure from traditional modes of depiction of a given subject would not provoke the attention (and possible hostile response) of a more conservative patron. The San Zeno Altarpiece is no exception. What is important here is Mantegna's treatment of perspective, topography and light: all for dramatic effect. The three predella-panels depict episodes from the Life of Christ.These are (from the viewer's left to right),The Agony in The Garden, The Crucifixion and The Resurrection.[122] The left and right panels are now at Tours; the centre panel is at the Musée du Louvre. The handling of perspective and light for a powerful dramatic effect is best seen in The Crucifixion. Mantegna has created an extraordinary sensation of movement into distance. The orthogonals of the paved summit recede to a point of sight in the centre of the far edge of the "platform". This movement is emphasized by the deep sinking of the ground in the middle-distance [123] and by the procession of tiny figures riding or walking up the road that winds down towards Jerusalem.[124] As far as the emotional use of light is concerned, Christ's face is

shadowed in agony. The Good Thief is in the light; the Bad Thief is in the shadows.[125] Also,in The Resurrection, Mantegna has achieved a striking effect of contrast between the pale dawn and the fiery light which surrounds the Resurrected Christ as He rises up in front of the great brown, hollowed-out mass of rock.[126] One should also note the relative slimness of all the figures in the San Zeno Altarpiece. This could have been due to the lingering influence of Byzantine art (in the Veneto) or perhaps that of Pliny, or Jacopo Bellini's drawings.[127]

(c).Mature style: Conflation and the super-real;1460-84.

These were the years that would see Mantegna bring to fruition those essential stylistic elements that developed during the years 1449-60.The most prominent of these would be the use of a generic setting for the figures of his compositions, whether it took the form of a landscape or was architectural. It is during this time that Mantegna exploits fully his ability to detect the principal uniting theme or idea in the source-material at his disposal and to dovetail all other relevant motifs, visual or literary, into it. The subtle use of perspective is an essential tool in this process,which may be seen at its best in The Circumcision of Christ and in the Triumphs of Caesar.

In 1457, Lodovico II Gonzaga had made the first of a number of overtures to Mantegna to induce the artist to come to Mantua and to work for him there.In 1460,Mantegna

finally moved to Mantua.Before this move,he carried out a number of commissions which give further insight into his artistic approach. The most important of these are The Circumcision of Christ (the right-hand panel of the so-called Uffizi Triptych,Figs.10-14) and the Madonna of the Rocks [Fig.15]. Scholars are by no means in agreement as to the precise dating of these works. From a stylistic and iconographical point of it would be legitimate to place them between the years 1460-68.[128] The paintings are important because one sees in them the crystallization of some of the principal and crucial issues of the Early Renaissance.

In his portrayal of The Circumcision of Christ [Figs.10-14], Mantegna neatly and masterfully resolved the apparently intractable problem of rendering the Lucan parenthesis of the Circumcision in accordance with Albertian *historia*. He achieved this by the use of a double perspective-scheme and the arrangement of the appropriate motifs (with *all'antica* ones;Figs.10,12). Thus it was that Mantegna created a composition that retained the contiguity of theme demanded by Biblical exegesis without contravening Albertian demands for temporal and contextual contiguity.

As far as perspective is concerned, different viewpoints have been used for the setting and for the figures [Fig.10]. The viewer is given a low point of sight, but the figures are portrayed from a higher point of sight. As the setting is seen from a point of sight which is level with the lintel of the Ark, the architrave and the arches are seen from below. The mouth of the

ewer, the top of the Altar and the pedestal are seen from above. The figures are portrayed from a point of sight which is level with the abdomen of the Christ-Child. The discrepancy in perspectival projection between the viewer's point of sight and that of the portrayal of the figures is resolved by Mantegna presenting only the upper surfaces of the legs and the right arm of the Christ-Child [Fig.13]. Thus,the viewer is persuaded that he or she is observing the Event from above and does not readily realise that the ceremony is divorced from the setting. This incontiguity of the perspectival projection of figures and setting was vital,as will be seen.

The sheer originality of Mantegna's depiction of the subject has given it a degree of ambiguity for a number of scholars.[129] One sees the Sacrifice of Isaac [Fig.11] and Moses receiving the Law [Fig.11] rendered as fictive reliefs; also items from the Presentation, namely, the doves carried by Joseph [Figs.10,13] and the halo of the Priest [Fig.13]. These are essential items in the Presentation but not in the Circumcision. Some scholars have seen this rendering as part of a process that had begun in the twelfth century.[130] By rendering the Sacrifice of Isaac and Moses receiving the Law as reliefs, Mantegna brought out the full significance of the Circumcision of Christ without violating temporal contiguity. The halo identifies the Priest [Figs.10-13] as St.Simeon.[131] The doves that have been brought by St.Joseph [Figs.10-13] are a sacrifice offered at the Presentation and complete the process of Purification.[132] The setting and composition for the Circumcision have

been taken from the Presentation (the upright positions of The Virgin and the symmetrical grouping of the figures about the Altar). The role of the Levite assisting Simeon is performed by the white-robed youth [Figs.10,13],who holds the surgical instruments within Simeon's reach. By rendering the Levite as a youth (whose costume and actions resemble those of an altar-server at the Mass), Mantegna emphasized the figural relationship between a son of Levi and the Christian priesthood.[133] The literary source here is probably a passage from the Old Testament; the Book of Malachi. Mediaeval theologians interpreted this passage as a prophecy of the Presentation in the Temple.[134]

The total number of figures in the composition is eight. Apart from the Priest, the Levite, Mary, Joseph and the Christ-Child, there are two women [Figs.10,14]. These women are not readily identifiable. The old woman is present to attend to Christ's swaddling. She does not have a halo, nor is her presence emphasized more than that of the young woman (with her son) next to her [Figs.10,14]. Joseph, together with the two women and the little boy, is a witness to the Event in the Temple. Just as the Levite presents the surgical instruments, so Joseph has brought the sacrificial doves [Figs.10,13]. The mantle worn by the Virgin Mary and the dress of the young woman [Figs.10,13,14] are picked out with gold highlights. This serves to link the figures, colouristically, with the architectural features, especially the fictive reliefs [Fig.10], which are symbolic. The young woman and her son also serve as a

visual counterpart to the figures of The Virgin and the Christ-Child [Figs.10,13,14].

Mantegna's composition clearly presents the intimate association of the Circumcision, the Presentation and the Purification as set out by St.Luke.[135] What is interesting here is that St.Luke rendered the circumcision and the Presentation as immediately preceeding the sacrifice of the doves. However,Mantegna has chosen to conflate the rites of the Circumcision and the Presentation, whereas St.Luke's account suggests that they took place on different days.[136] The single encounter between Jesus and the Priest, in Mantegna's painting, provides a proleptic allusion to both rites.

As far as the literary sources are concerned, Mantegna not only understood the implications of *historia*, as set out by Alberti in De Pictura, but also those of the Biblical exegesis.These implications may be teased out from the manner of his composition.

Albertian *historia* was the result of the confluence of two influences; one antique, the other mediaeval. In antiquity, *historia* was a form of literature that was distinguished by the rhetorical embellishment of the facts related in a given work.[137] In the mediaeval world, *historia* gave support to moral, allegorical and anagogical interpretations of the Eternal Truths of the Christian Faith.[138] In this role, *historia* had been defined as a form of knowledge which was manifestly visible and physical.[139] *Historia* was the *sensus litteralis*, which was the primary meaning of Scripture, and this was sensual,not textual.[140] It was logical;

therefore, that *historia* should become linked with the art of painting, and it is in Dante's Purgatorio that one sees *historia* (and the Italian equivalents, *storia* and *istoria*) used as the generic term for a work of art that depicted a narrative.[141]

Alberti's understanding of *historia* was directly-derived from this late-mediaeval concept. Although Alberti displayed kinship with Cicero in awarding *historia* the highest praise for a form of rhetoric, there was no necessary reason to equate the rhetorical *historia* with paintings, but the audience whom Alberti was addressing was thoroughly familiar with the ancient tradition,so that they would have linked *historia* with visual images.[142] Perhaps this familiarity explains why Alberti had not felt the need to define *historia* when he used it to refer to a type of painting. However, Alberti differed from Dante in that his appreciation of the art and literature of antiquity was much greater.Also, Alberti included pagan themes as well as Christian ones in his category of *historia*.[143]

Alberti's overriding concern in De Pictura was to expound and articulate the concept of creating visual works that had the significative structure of mediaeval *historia*. Book Two of De Pictura makes this clear.The art of painting had to respect the laws of vision.[144] Only through composition did the motifs incorporated in a painting take on the narrative significance of *historia*. The process of composition began with the arrangement of the forms or motifs and saw its fulfilment in an expressive end. There was a total interdependence of form

and meaning. A painting achieved the the expressive effect of *historia* through the depiction of bodily movement.[145] It is here that one sees the clear influence of the figural interpretation of historical events that was so important in mediaeval thought.[146] Antique and mediaeval *historia* had also involved the use of certain narrative devices, closely associated with *Res Gesta*, which modern scholars would regard as indicating deeds or events. Not only this, but also a spurious mediaeval etymology had come to link *historia* with gesticulation.[147] The depiction of bodily movement gave a painting the narrative significance, which demanded that all bodies must move in accordance with performing and teaching the *historia*.

The pictorial conventions of mediaeval artists were incompatible with the naturalistic style adopted by the artists of the early fifteenth century. However,if Mantegna had discarded the traditional iconography, his efforts would have been vitiated. Without the traditional motifs, the significance of the Jewish ceremony would not have been conveyed to a contemporary Christian audience. The source of inspiration for the conflation devised by Mantegna was possibly a sermon given by St.Bernard of Clairvaux, in which he compared the Circumcision of Christ with the Purification of The Virgin as a submission to the Law.[148] However,St.Bernard had treated the themes in parallel; Mantegna treated them as distinct duties within the same celebration, which would begin with the taking up of the scalpel and end with the immolation of the doves. The linking of the sacrificial

doves to the Circumcision was inspired by a passage in Leviticus, which described the purification of a mother after childbirth.[149]

The Presentation fulfilled the obligation that the Israelites had had towards God in return for His liberating them from captivity in Egypt. All first-born sons were holy to God and had to be redeemed by Presentation in the Temple.[150] It is relevant that St.Luke relates the rites of the Purification of The Virgin and the Presentation in the Temple as a single ceremony.[151] The ceremony is seen as a parallel to the earlier rite of Circumcision, and it is emphasized that all of these rites were performed in accordance with the Law.[152] As far as Luke's account is concerned, the Circumcision, the Presentation and the Purification are related only in passing.[153] Their role is to fix the dates and to provide the authentic context in which Christ's Name and Mission are to be revealed. St.Luke had also associated the number eight with the Circumcision, not only this but also the Church Fathers had interpreted this number as having significance for the meaning of the Circumcision.[154] The Circumcision was a portent of the sacrifice of the Eucharist and it was also the first of the Sorrows of Mary, and thus, the Octave or Culmination of Christ's Nativity. Hence,Mary was almost always shown among those attending the Circumcision. However,Her presence in the Sanctuary was a clear contravention of the Law. Nevertheless, the matter of historical accuracy had been considered by mediaeval artists as less important than the expressive power of a sacred setting.

This attitude was still present in the early Quattrocento;the work of Ottaviano Nelli is a good example of this approach.[155]

In Luke's parenthetical account of the Circumcision, the Laws of God and of Moses are being fulfilled. By portraying the figures that Mantegna did and by placing them in a sacred setting that included reliefs showing the Sacrifice of Isaac and Moses receiving the Law, and yet divorcing the figures from the setting by using different perspective projections for the figures and setting respectively, Mantegna could overcome objections to the composition that might have been raised by Alberti. The problem of conveying the authentic sacramental significance of a Jewish religious rite to a Christian audience unfamiliar with it had posed problems for mediaeval artists.[156] A sacred setting (a church, with altar,etc) had been essential. Further insight into the general attitude of masters to the task of portraying sacred themes (and other subjects) may be found in Cennini's Il Libro dell'arte. Cennini clearly emphasizes that the task of the artist was to present to the viewer those higher truths that the familiar visible world concealed.[157] For Alberti,a picture was not a representation of higher truths that were by their very nature invisible. The theme, or meaning, had to be conveyed by depicting what could be seen, and nothing else.[158] However,Alberti was careful to point out that the artist was by no meams confined to portraying only what was commonly seen in the world. Personifications of

forces or qualities were perfectly acceptable, as were allegorical figures.[159]

Mantegna solved the problem of reconciling traditional iconography with the early Renaissance concept of *historia* by devising an *historia* that made allusion to the Circumcision without actually showing the act and which links the rite to a ceremony that involved the Virgin Mary (and which occurred in the Temple). All the events had to be seen in the light of their relationship to God. Thus it was that Mantegna could leave the temporal relationship of the Circumcision and the Presentation unstated. The higher spiritual significance of these rites could be emphasized (although they properly belonged to separate days) by depicting them as if they were both imminent. Mantegna's *historia* may be fluid in its references but it remains faithful to Scripture. The New Testament does not make specific references or statements that Christ was circumcised. The Circumcision, as with the Presentation and the Purification, was alluded to without the actual observance being described in detail.[160]

The fictive reliefs [Figs.10,11] that Mantegna had astutely placed above the sacred objects in the Temple relate the receiving of historic decrees by the Jewish Patriarchs. These scenes of obedience bring out the authentic significance of the Laws of Moses and of God, and also of the ceremony being performed beneath them. They are parenthetical devices that enrich the *historia* without actually being a part of the related event. Mantegna had realised that nothing short of the complete

initiation of the Christ-Child into the Covenant of Abraham would serve for the proper observance of the Law of God and of Moses. Jesus entered the Covenant in order to free future generations from the yoke of the Law. The Circumcision served as a promise to observe the Law, but the figure of the Law would not be fulfilled until the Presentation and the Purification were completed. It was necessary that all of these should be conflated for the semblance of fulfilling the figure of the Law.

The composition effectively separates the ritual from the setting,by virtue of the perspective-scheme,and in so doing,bears witness to the sacredness of the ceremony. Mantegna was able to portray the ambivalent nature of the relationship between the Circumcision of Christ and the sacred traditions of His people,the Jews,by devising a visual equivalent of the Lucan parenthesis. Mantegna's composition was thoroughly consistent with both Biblical *historia* and Albertian *historia*. Mantegna's interpretation of the Circumcision observed the artistic form as well as the theological content of the account given by St.Luke.

Mantegna had digested all the implications of De Pictura thoroughly. Nothing can illustrate better the extent and depth of Mantegna's insight into Alberti's treatise, and its intellectual standpoint, than his approach to what Alberti had cited as the greatest example of *historia*, the Calumny of Apelles,as related by Lucian.[161] Mantegna drew upon Alberti and Lucian as sources for his drawing.[162] There are few examples of a more skilful treatment of Lucian's *ekphrasis*. Each of the

figures has been treated as an individual actor performing the *historia*. Not least, here, Mantegna had to invent images of traits which were mentioned but not described in the texts (e.g. "Ignorantia"). He also altered the cast of the *historia*. Alberti and Lucian both described the leader of the Vices, *Livor*, as a male personification.[163] Mantegna altered this to *Invidia*, whom he depicted as an old hag. This image would have been familiar from late-mediaeval painting.[164] The sex of the victim of Calumny has been changed. Both Lucian and Alberti describe this as a young man who is raising his arms to the heavens.[165] Mantegna portrayed the victim as a young woman, a maiden, the personification of innocence. Unlike her literary counterpart, she is not invoking the aid of unseen forces. She has fixed her attention on "Truth", who is advancing from the right. "Truth", who is wearing a laurel-wreath, is responding to the beseeching look of "Penitence" by pointing upwards with all the assurance of knowing that the victory of Truth is inevitable.

Mantegna's skill in giving his *historia* a universal significance may be seen yet further. Both Lucian and Alberti had recounted the theme of Apelles' painting as the history of the influence of Calumny over an unwise and undescriminating judge.[166] In both Lucian's and Alberti's account of the Calumny, "Penitence" and "Truth" signify and express shame.[167] However,there is nothing that could be said to be shameful about penitence or truth. It is the response that the one and the other express towards the central deed. They are ashamed at

their inability to stop the ill-effects of Calumny. As a result of the raising of the victim of Calumny to the level of personification, Mantegna's Calumny of Apelles had become an *historia* of Innocence and Truth in addition to being one of Calumny and an unwise judge. Thus,in Mantegna's hands,the Calumny of Apelles had become a study of Virtue over Vice.[168] Mantegna had understood the *historia* in its broadest significance, while, indeed, retaining the processional quality of Apelles' composition. It should come as no surprise that Mantegna was hailed by his Humanist colleagues and contemporaries as an *Inventor*,a distinction normally reserved for men of letters.[169]

Mantegna's skills in conflating allied themes would be seen again in his so-called Madonna of the Rocks (Uffizi,Florence,Fig.15), also known as the Madonna of the Stonecutters and the Madonna of the Cave. It is a small work, barely the size of a standard A4 sheet of notepaper, executed in tempera on a wooden panel.One may see the young Madonna,seated on a rock, with the Christ-Child in her lap. The Madonna's head is not covered with a veil and the hair is unbound. She has the traditional halo. Directly behind the Madonna and Child (in perspective) is a mountain which presents a very striking appearance. It is almost like quarry-blast caught in freeze-frame. The rest of the landscape lacks the antique ruins and statuary that are to be seen in so many of Mantegna's works. In this landscape there are quarrymen working, shepherds tending and leading their flocks. There is also a harvest taking place.

The painting has provoked a certain amount of comment. It is worth emphasizing from the start how Northern (i.e. Flemish or German) the little work is as a *conception* (cf. Figs.15 and 18). This is not to refer to matters of style but rather to the sheer concentration or density of symbolic references within what appears to be a Madonna and Child placed in a natural setting in such a small painting The circumstantial evidence for Northern sources of inspiration is quite strong. The main motifs,textual source and the patron were probably German in origin. The Madonna of the Rocks would appear to represent a very adroit rendering of traditional German patristic teaching and iconography in naturalistic,north Italian Quattrocento terms.

Frederick Hartt carefully relates the details of the picture to an exegetical work,the Allegoriae in Sacram Scripturam, by Hrabanus Maurus of Mainz.[170] The painting is a compact allegory of the Virgin Birth and The Resurrection. Hartt's argument is mainly centred around Hrabanus Maurus' interpretation of the significance of certain images in the Book of Daniel, in the Old Testament.[171] Hartt finds the appearance of the mountain that looms out behind (in perspective) the Madonna's head, "most disturbing of all".[172] The model for the mountain is probably Monte Bolca, a hill situated roughly 16 km N.N.W. from Ronca (near Verona). Mantegna could well have seen it. The hill is a roughly conical peak separated from the nearby range of hills. Monte Bolca is composed of early Tertiary basalts and interlayered volcanic ashes. Some of the basalts are believed to have

a columnar structure, similar to the way in which Mantegna has rendered some of the patterning on the mountain in the Madonna of the Rocks.[173] Hartt goes on to note what is clear enough: the apparently cohesive mass of rock is really composed of two dissimilar halves, the join of which coincides with the centre vertical line of the composition. The perspective projection is such that the mountain and the Madonna's head and body tend to be comprehended in tandem. On the viewer's right, the mass of rock seems to spring from the Madonna's left shoulder, and from the top of her head. The quarrymen and stone-carvers are working on a column, a statue and a sarcophagus in front of a deep cave. Hartt quotes firstly from the Book of Daniel to show that the mountain is the main key to the composition.[174] For Hartt, this indicates the reason for the physical character of Mantegna's striking mountain: stones cut without hands are falling on the right-hand side (viewer's); on the left, the side of the mountain is rising to fill the earth. Hrabanus Maurus provides the confirmation of this.[175]

Hartt is correct in saying that the Christ-Child is singing.[176] Other authors have made the mistake of thinking that He is sleeping, and, while there is a certain tradition of portraying the Christ-Child asleep in His mother's lap, this would definitely not be the case here.[177] The Child's face is portrayed in a manner very similar to the singing angels that one may see in a number of Mantegna's works.[178] He may be regarded as singing in thanksgiving to God the Father, who twice

placed Him in the womb of mortality and twice brought Him forth.[179]

In the right-hand part of the picture,the quarrymen and stonecutters are at work. They are carving a column in front of the entrance to the cave. Hrabanus Maurus offers many meanings for the noun, "column".[180] The significant one for Hartt is to be found in Col.899, of the Allegoriae in Sacram Scripturam. Hrabanus is commenting on a passage from the Book of Job.[181] The column and those who prepare it are those who prepared the Torture and Death of Christ. These will be crushed by the mountain in the Triumph of Christ over Death, in His Resurrection.The right-hand (viewer's) side of the mountain appears to be spilling over (or is about to) towards the quarrymen and the stonecutters. The column is pointing towards the mouth of the cave. For Hrabanus Maurus,the cave has a dual meaning.[182] It could be a place of refuge or of evil and corruption. In view of what has been said earlier about the column, the latter significance is more likely. Thus far, so good. However,Hartt strains his analysis of the cave dangerously.[183] It cannot be both good and evil at one and the same time.

On the left-hand side of the picture, there is a wheatfield flanking a road. A harvest is taking place. There are shepherds leading a flock of sheep along the road. These are all familiar items of Christian iconography; especially the portrayal of Christ as the Good Shepherd, the sheep as the Faithful and the road as the Way. Hartt ends his selection of passages from

Hrabanus Maurus by giving a passage which would account for Mantegna's rendering of the extreme foreground in the composition.[184] This is dominated by a very large and thick section of rock.It is shaped like a square table, and one of the corners points directly at the viewer.The Madonna is resting her feet on this rocky table. The perspective projection is such that this rock-formation dominates everything in the composition except the mountain itself. According to Hartt,this is the threshing-floor as the Book of Daniel describes it.[185] It is not for nothing that we have the Madonna and Child seated on a rock which has a "threshing-floor" as its plinth or footstool.The symbol of the harvest expresses the double mortality of Christ. If Christ is the Wheat, then the Madonna must be the Wheatfield. The "threshing-floor" completes the allegory. Mantegna has neatly translated this into visual terms: where the Madonna's cloak has not touched or brushed the surface,the rocky table is completely dry and is covered with what Hartt (and other authors) believes to be tiny pebbles or gravel.[186] At the edge of the Madonna's mantle, on both sides and towards the end of the rocky table, however, a fresh growth of tiny green shoots has sprung up, as if from some miraculous dew, similar to that which had collected in Gideon's fleece.[187] This feature is not at all obvious in the painting and needs a keen eye to spot it. The "pebbles" are, in fact, grain.

The figure of the Madonna herself, and her portrayal by Mantegna, is of singular importance.It was virtually unknown for the artists of the Italian Quattrocento to

render the Madonna bareheaded and with unbound hair. Mantegna is no exception. He portrayed the Madonna and Child thirty-three times, either alone together or with saints, angels or donors. It was equally unusual for artists of the Italian Quattrocento to place the Madonna and Child in a purely rural setting,in a landscape. The Madonna of the Rocks is the only example of Mantegna treating the subject in this way. There can be little question of the source of inspiration coming from within the Italian Peninsula. This is equally true of the Middle Ages as for the Quattrocento. Hartt is justified in looking beyond Italy for a possible source of inspiration. It is very likely to have come from Germany.[188] The image of the *Ährenmadonna* ("Madonna of the Cornfield" or "Madonna of the Wheatear"),which has been so thoroughly discussed by Rudolf Berliner, would be particularly appropriate.[189]

The probable commissioner of this work was Barbara of Brandenburg (b.1422,d.1481).In a work, which by its small size, would have been intended for intimate and mainly private contemplation,personal cultural tastes would have seen a more prominent expression. While it may never be known precisely what her artistic tastes were, there is some documentary evidence which shows that some of her fellow-countrymen felt free to write to Barbara of Brandenburg in her mother-tongue.[190] She could have maintained native cultural tastes in artistic and hagiographical matters. A traditional German image of the Madonna, expressing the theological exegeses of a prominent figure in German hagiography, albeit,skilfully

rendered in Italian Quattrocento terms by Mantegna, would have been a comforting reminder of Barbara of Brandenburg's formative years.[191]

The probable influence of Piero della Francesca and of Giovanni Bellini now remain to be considered. This should help to ameliorate the thorny problem of dating the Madonna of the Rocks more precisely.[192] Piero and Mantegna had much in common. They were quite close contemporaries. They were both of provincial origin. Both masters were famous as supremely-proficient practitioners of formal perspective, especially, foreshortening.[193] They exhibit a certain marmoreal quality in their depiction of the human figure. Both masters had a keen sense of colour-harmony and contrast, and a firm if generalised comprehension of anatomy. The divided landscape that Mantegna used in the Madonna of the Rocks re-appears in his Copenhagen *Pietà*, Christ on the Tomb supported by Two Angels, which most scholars would date to around 1489. It is striking to observe that Hartt makes no mention of the probable source of inspiration: Piero's fresco, the Resurrection of Christ, painted in the Town Hall of San Sepolcro.[194] It is generally thought to have been executed between 1458 and 1465.It corresponds in style to the last scenes of the Arezzo Cycle. In the landscape behind the immense, massive figure of the Resurrected Christ, the onlooker may see that the trees on his left are bare of leaves and that those on the right are in full leaf. This is probably the earliest use of a diachronic depiction of landscape for symbolic and emotional purposes. Nature appears dead on

the left, as in Winter, and reborn and fully-alive on the right, as in Spring and Summer. Piero's figure of Christ is exactly mid-way between the two groups of trees. Thus,one sees symbolized the desolate state of Mankind under the Old Law and the joyful and hopeful state of Mankind under the New Law.

It is perfectly possible that Mantegna could have seen Piero's Resurrection of Christ on his return journey from Florence. There is clear evidence that Mantegna was in Florence from the 5th of July to the early part of December 1466.[195] He is supposed to have been giving advice on the decoration of the chancel of the church of the Santissima Annunziata. Mantegna would have known how to use his time effectively. Even if Mantegna had not known of Piero's name and reputation before he departed for Florence, he could undoubtedly have gained this information from other artists in Florence. Piero had worked there as an assistant to Domenico Veneziano in 1439, when Domenico was painting some frescoes in the choir of the church of Sant'Egidio. Mantegna might well have taken the opportunity to visit Arezzo (about 60 km. south-east of Florence) and San Sepolcro (about 28 km. north-east of Arezzo). Few artists could have turned Mantegna's head in the way that Piero probably did. His influence was still strong late in Mantegna's career. An impressive witness to this is the Madonna della Vittoria (Musée du Louvre), painted in 1496.[196] The circumstances of its commission have already been related in chapter 1.[197] The overall concept of the composition has been derived from Piero's Virgin and Child with

Saints and Angels,with Federico II da Montefeltro kneeling (*Pala di Brera*).[198] Opinion still varies over the date of the work; most scholars place it at 1472-74.[199] Mantegna's compositional scheme is a simplification and part mirror-reversal of the *Pala di Brera*. Instead of thirteen figures there are now nine. The obvious mirror-image figure is that of the kneeling Francesco II Gonzaga.Both posture and location have been derived from that of the figure of Federico II da Montefeltro. Piero's *all'antica* niche has become a verdant bower and the ostrich egg a branch of vivid coral.[200]

Mantegna's use of light in the Madonna of the Rocks would infer an earlier date for its execution. This may be seen by by examining the way in which Mantegna and Giovanni Bellini handled the theme of Christ's Agony in the Garden.[201] Mantegna inspired Bellini to use light in an emotional and symbolic way.In the Madonna of the Rocks [Fig.15], one sees that the left-hand (viewer's) side of the landscape background is bathed in warm sunlight,in contrast to the gloom and shadow of the right-hand side. In view of all that has been said about the influence of Hrabanus Maurus and of Piero, the allegorical nature of the Madonna of the Rocks would definitely imply that the warm light on the left would indicate the joy being felt in the world through the knowledge of Redemption by means of Christ's Death and Resurrection.

This symbolic and emotional use of light occurs only once again in Mantegna's entire output. However,it occurs a number of times in the work of Giovanni Bellini.[202]

The first example is his Agony in the Garden, c.1460 (National Gallery,London), the last one is the Madonna of The Meadow.c.1505 (also National Gallery,London). Mantegna depicted the Agony in the Garden twice,once in a picture now in the National Gallery, London, and again in the left-hand predella-panel of the San Zeno Altarpiece. The latter may certainly be dated to 1459.[203] The former was probably executed during 1455.[204] Bellini's Agony in the Garden is one of the earliest datable examples of the emotional use of light in a landscape. Although there are inconsistencies in the portrayal of the fall of light,the great effect of making the daylight the driving-force of the composition is not lost.[205] The rising sun that frames Christ's head will soon be casting its light all over the land. The light of the New Law will dispel the darkness of the Old Law. The terrible Trial to come will see its triumph in the hope born of Divine Love giving Man his means of Redemption.

Piero's Madonna of the Misericordia (San Sepolcro,Museo Civico), datable to the years 1445-60 [206], is the probable source of inspiration for Mantegna's portrayal of the Madonna ,in the Madonna of the Rocks, as protector and nourisher of the faithful. What appear to be tiny pebbles, strewn before the feet of the Madonna in the foreground of the composition, are in fact grains of wheat. They are the grains of wheat remaining on the threshing-floor,i.e.,the faithful after the "chaff" of the sinful has been winnowed away [Fig.15]. Piero's Madonna spreads her mantle protectively over the saints. Mantegna's Madonna sits in the midst of the faithful,

ready to gather the precious harvest under her mantle. Where her mantle has been over them, they have sprouted into life. Piero's Madonna has her mantle fastened by a brooch; so has Mantegna's (the resemblance is close to Piero's design) and it is the only such example in Mantegna's entire output. One is inclined to agree with Kristeller, Knapp, Fiocco and Paccagnini and date the Madonna of the Rocks to the years 1466-68.[207]

The remaining works to be considered are for the most part concerned with secular or pagan themes. The *Camera Picta* (Castello di San Giorgio, Mantua) is the most important of these. The decorative-scheme of the *Camera Picta*, begun in 1465 and completed in 1474, is an excellent example of the "environmental orientation" of formal perspective, (especially true as far as the *Oculus* of the ceiling is concerned; Figs.19, 21-25).[208] It should be said straightaway that Mantegna was drawing upon a well-established and respected tradition of room-decoration that had prevailed in northern Italy for some generations. Examples which come immediately to mind are the decorative-scheme for the ceiling of the church of San Bassano at Lodi Vecchio [Fig.26] and the frescoes of the castle at Angera (on the shores of the *Lago Maggiore*, looking towards the Plains of Lombardy).[209] The former was executed during the first decades of the fourteenth century, the latter from 1314 onwards [Figs.26-30]. In both cases, one should note that the centre of the ceiling-decoration is denoted by a circular design and that the ribs of the vaulting have been incorporated in the decorative articulation of the

ceiling. Mantegna's design for the ceiling-decoration of the *Camera Picta* has very clearly been inspired by the latter examples (or something very similar). It is to the frescoes at Angera that one should look [Figs.27-30] if one wishes to see some of the origins of the overall decorative-scheme of the *Camera Picta* as a concept. The motifs on the ceiling and walls of the room in the castle at Angera constitute an integrated, articulate and eloquent apotheosis of a member of the Visconti family; Archbishop Ottone Visconti. The episodes illustrated from his life and career are supplemented by lunette designs of the stars and the planets [Fig.28].

The same is true of the *Camera Picta*; one sees here the visual expression and articulation of the self-image of the Gonzaga. In this case,the precise source of the particular approach that Mantegna adopted towards the general concept presented at Angera may be definitely known. It is a series of frescoes completed by Tomaso da Modena for the chapter-house of the Dominicans at Treviso,in 1352 [Fig.20]. In spite of their destruction in a bombing-raid in 1944, one may glean a good impression of their character from photographs. The main scene is The Crucifixion, flanked by a decorative-scheme that is divided (horizontally) into two registers. The upper one portrays forty images of members of the Dominican Order. Three of the portraits are of canonized members, shown in frontal seated pose behind their desks, which are delineated in a quasi-perspectival manner. All the portraits are vertically-separated by columnar strips which may have been decorated. The lower register

consists entirely of Gothic trefoils and quatrefoils within circles, alternately arranged in staggered manner [Fig.20]. There would appear to be evidence of a third (lowest) register. The resemblance of this decorative-scheme to that by Mantegna in the *Camera Picta* is too close to be coincidental. Mantegna retained the main scheme of two horizontal registers [Figs.19,21]; *all'antica* pilasters and simulated marble rings (with alternate centre colours of crimson and grey and of golden yellow and grey,on the West and North Walls respectively) have replaced the blank columnar strips and ringed Gothic trefoils and quatrefoils of the Treviso design [Figs.19,21,23 and 24]. Figures of members of the Gonzaga family have replaced Dominican monks. They are set in a compositional framework that is a vast expansion and extension of that of the main panels of the San Zeno Altarpiece. This time the viewer is within the pavilion and looks outwards. The *Camera Picta* pavilion is furnished with simulated leather curtains; they have been parted and drawn back, on the West and North Walls, to reveal (respectively) an outdoor and an indoor scene [Figs.19,21-24]. They remain shut on the South and East Walls. The roof of the pavilion is decorated with a central *Oculus* and with portrait-busts of eight of the Caesars [Figs.19,25]. The lunettes display *imprese* used by the Gonzaga,the spandrels depict the Labours of Hercules, the Adventures of Arion, the Life and Death of Orpheus and the Judgement of Periander. Mantegna has conflated the design concept at Angera with the design approach at Treviso and expressed them in terms of a

greatly-expanded version of the San Zeno design [Figs.19-30].

The *Camera Picta* frescoes bear witness to a crucial problem that confronted artists and patrons during the Quattrocento: the portrayal of the secular hero.[210] While it cannot be denied that the literature of the pagan antique world could provide more than enough guidance as to the presentation of an heroic theme, neither artists nor patrons were at liberty to ignore the authority of the Church.There could be no attempt to elevate a secular figure to an heroic stature greater than that of Christ Himself. By presenting Lodovico II Gonzaga (b.1412,reg.1444-78) and his household in a relatively low-key manner, possible Papal displeasure could be averted.[211] Much effort has been expended in examining the significance of the figures portrayed and of their scenic context. The literary sources and the historical events which involved the Gonzaga have been subject to varying degrees of acceptance and emphasis. There is a constant temptation to impose a solution on the available visual evidence.One thing is certain:even though the function of many rooms was not static in the fifteenth-century noble's dwelling,the *Camera Picta* does give a good indication of its function from its decorative-scheme.The compact room thus adorned by Mantegna's frescoes was there to glorify the Gonzaga household by presenting the desired self-image to appropriate visitors.[212] Signorini's monograph is the most thorough examination of the *Camera Picta* so far attempted. The reader is presented with a highly-detailed

account of the Humanist cultivation of the Gonzaga court, from the beginning of the rule of the *Marchese*, Lodovico II, to the completion of Mantegna's frescoes for the room. This account is interwoven with events in the lives of Lodovico II and his family (and other significant figures within and outside of the Italian Peninsula). The monograph ends with an account of the fate of Mantegna's frescoes, from the extinction of the Gonzaga male line (1708) to the latest restoration, finished in 1985.

It is significant that the author is Professor of the History of Italian Literature, for the emphasis is overwhelmingly historical, not art-historical. Thus it is that the reader is given no comprehensive idea of the nature of Mantegna's art and style, and, therefore, of the visual nature of the meaning of the *Camera Picta* frescoes. One cannot therefore observe the nature of the intermeshing of Mantegna's intellectual habits with those of his Gonzaga patrons. Most significantly of all, Signorini asserts that Mantegna's use of the Greek version of his signature, in the Vienna St.Sebastian, was provoked by his wish to acknowledge the prominence and regard given ancient Greek literature at the Gonzaga court. In this matter, as in his general treatment of the education and culture of the Gonzaga, Signorini is stretching a point dangerously. One need have no doubt about the prominence given to Greek literature at the *Ca'Giocosa* of Vittorino da Feltre. However,the very evidence voluminously gathered by Signorini from the Gonzaga archives comes very close to contradicting the image that Signorini wishes to convey: that of Lodovico

II as a Humanist noble steeped and thoroughly-naturalized in Greek culture. Anyone who has read and assimilated the Gonzaga correspondence and achieved an authentic understanding of their thinking-habits would surely question this. Signorini's own selection of the private correspondence of Lodovico II (and of the other members of the Gonzaga household) clearly reveals the agile and astute mind of a professional warrior and strategist. Albertian ruminations are largely absent. Instead,one may see the well-practised and consummate ability to assess a constantly-changing situation immediately and accurately and act accordingly.

The *Camera Picta* frescoes are the result of the fruitful meshing of two highly-sophisticated minds. Without having an idea of the essential characteristics of Mantegna's art one may have no certain idea of how the supposed literary sources were translated into visual images and of how the final creation was meant to function. The problem here is the distribution of the figures. which is such that only a slight emphasis is given to the known principal characters. However, it is the figure of Lodovico II which is depicted twice. No other character has been so treated. Lodovico is the protagonist here.One is in agreement with Martindale that Signorini's work on the *Camera Picta* frescoes rules out the liklihood that particular events are being portrayed.[213] However,one is not in agreement with him about the "essential triviality" (sic) of the subject-matter.[214] Even allowing for Mantegna's relative slowness in carrying out the commission (which was exacerbated by

the other duties Lodovico imposed on the artist), the sheer length of time and expense involved would rule this out. The creation of a group of recognisable portraits in a skilfully-devised generic setting could not have been the sole (or primary) object of the commission. Nevertheless, Martindale is correct in pinpointing the portraits of the Gonzaga as the potential weak point in the compositional scheme. In the hands of a lesser artist the intimate presentation adopted would have ensured the failure of the decorative-scheme in the eyes of later generations.[215] It is this very issue of Mantegna's artistic genius, and its appeal for the Gonzaga (who were happy to employ him for forty-six years), that is never truly tackled by Signorini. It would have been far better if he had restricted himself to an examination of the *imprese* and the lunettes (supplemented by one of the busts of the Caesars on the ceiling),for these are the key to the meaning and significance of the decorative-scheme. In the *Camera Picta* frescoes, Mantegna has again understood and answered the question of thematic unity and contiguity. By trawling through a vast mass of literary and primary documentary sources, Signorini has shown an inability to resist the temptation of imposing what he felt to be the required level of significative complexity on the iconography of the *Camera Picta* frescoes.

All scholars have been correct in reading the *Camera Picta* frescoes as an integrated whole. Where they have differed is in their understanding of what ideas are being expounded and the way in which they have come to be

translated into visual terms. The certain guide here is the intellectual habits of Lodovico II and Mantegna's treatment of major theological themes and programmes. In contrast to such masters as Donatello, Mantegna was stylistically consistent. What confronts the viewer is the apotheosis of Lodovico II treated in a parenthetical manner. By this means,Mantegna could portray the Gonzaga in a domestic, intimate and low-key setting, and yet relate their political and cultural kinship to the Caesars. Just as he had demonstrated in the Uffizi Circumcision of Christ, Mantegna was fully aware of the thematic implications of what confronted him. One is witnessing a contiguity of kinship and intention, not of time or place. The generic setting is appropriate for this figural rendering of the Gonzaga self-image, with the qualities and virtues that are signified. The low-key portrayal makes telling contrast with the eight Caesars and the Labours of Hercules (and the other subjects portrayed in the lunettes and spandrels). By means of this impressive parenthesis, the Gonzaga (especially Lodovico II) are saying, "Here we are,the Gonzaga of today; we shall not only re-enact the deeds of the Caesars but also do the impossible,as Hercules did".

(d). Late style:1484-1506.

Mantegna continued to display the stylistic tendencies that he had shown during the years 1460-84. There would be the same use of generic landscapes, and this time the matter of the super real would see its

logical climax in the series of *grisaille* compositions depicting persons, themes and episodes from pagan antiquity, and also, the Old Testament. This period of Mantegna's style sees an appreciably more flowing and lyrical quality in the way he portrays the movement of figures. The reasons for this manner of portrayal cannot be known with certainty.

The theme of the Triumphs of Caesar is not in doubt. The debate has centred on the date of commission and the eventual location of the work. This series of nine compositions, painted in tempera on twilled linen, is heroic in scale and grandeur. It represents the final main phase of Mantegna's style. The series depicts the triumphal procession, through Rome, of Julius Caesar and his army. It was conceived as a processional sequence, not as a series of independent compositions.

The date of commission is probably later than that suggested by Andrew Martindale.[216] The contrast in style between the Triumphs and the *Camera Picta* frescoes is just too great. The probable commissioner was Francesco II Gonzaga (b.1466,reg.1484-1519), and the probable starting date is 1485.[217] The work was prolonged and interrupted by Mantegna's stay in Rome (from the Summer of 1488 to September,1490), where he was engaged in painting a small chapel for Pope Innocent VIII. The Triumphs of Caesar is an excellent example of the strategic use of the visual arts. The viewer was to be impressed, if not deeply-overawed, by the spectacle before him. This aim required a particular technical approach and a specific location. In the matter of

technical approach, one might find oneself in agreement with those scholars who would assert that Mantegna was at last employing ideas that had been stored in his head, or in his studio portfolios for many years.[218] However,one would not be in agreement with those who would maintain that the Triumphs were for display around the three walls of a large room.[219] The demands of the exercise were such that the overwhelming impression of relentless forward movement was the precise effect required. It gave Mantegna the opportunity to bring to fruition a tendency that had always been conspicuous in his style: the depiction, and near-equal emphasis of the lateral recession of space with the direct recession of space away from the viewer. The nine canvases that depict this continuous, moving column of figures, animals and objects were intended to be displayed in a great framework of carved and gilded wood. As far as locations are concerned, only the so-called *Corridoio dei Passerini* would have been adequate.[220] In this matter Martindale is likely to be correct. One cannot find oneself in agreement with Lightbown at all. The whole of predominantly relentless forward movement would have been spoilt by display around three walls of a room. It is no argument to say that the previous examples of "triumphs" were painted for great *sale*. The siting of the series of big canvases in one long line would be a dramatic and original departure from existing practice. Lightbown's assertion, in further support of his argument, that the series of canvases form two groups separated by Canvas VII (The Captives, where an urban setting is used in

contrast to all the other canvases) can be refuted. The real effect (and rôle) of Canvas VII is to act as a deliberate arrest to the eye and thus to hold the viewer's attention for a fraction longer.

The question of lighting (real and portrayed) is important. Lightbown states that the fall of light in all of the canvases is nearly frontal; there is only a slight bias to the left. According to him, this is yet further evidence in support of the display having been carried on three walls. The bias of the portrayed light is, in fact, much more to the left than Lightbown believes. However, even if the lighting was totally frontal, Lightbown's argument remains invalid. It would have been rather odd if the viewer could have seen frontal light presented to him from all three sides of a room. Mantegna would surely have made allowance in his compositions for the portrayed fall of light to be coincident with the actual fall of light in a room.

Martindale is right to say that the lighting of the Triumphs makes it virtually certain that they were intended to occupy a single length of wall. Moreover, as he states, the correspondence housed in the Archivio Gonzaga makes it clear that the Castello di San Giorgio (where Lightbown believes the Triumphs to have been displayed) housed the private apartments and administrative offices of the Gonzaga government.[221] The adjacent Palazzo Ducale was used for the entertainment of important guests. The essentially propagandist function of the Triumphs makes much more sense here. Lightbown argues that it was inconceivable that a set of pictures

as important and expensive as the Triumphs would have been hung in a corridor,"a very subsidiary part of a dwelling in the notions of the age" (sic).[222] The plain fact is that the so-called *Corridoio dei Passerini* did indeed start life as a corridor,but it was always of considerable dimensions. Sometime in the fourteenth century it was subdivided into seven rooms. It was re-created by the demolition of the seven rooms. The fresco-work carried out by Pisanello during the years 1407-33 indicates the dimensions of these former rooms. The result of the demolition of the thin partition-walls was the re-creation of a substantial architectural feature that is not "subsidiary" in any way. However,the actual date of the re-creation of the *Corridoio* is uncertain; one can only say that it was done at some time in the fifteenth century, and probably not especially for the accommodation of the Triumphs. It has to be said that no-one who has visited the Palazzo Ducale could fail to notice how freely architectural modifications have been carried out at various times.

The psychological effect of seeing the Triumphs displayed in one long line,in the Corridoio dei Passerini, cannot be forgotten. Guests who entered the inner rooms of the Palazzo Ducale via the *Corridoio*, as they might well have done (and as the modern visitor does), would have been suitably overawed by the nine great canvases that composed the spectacle.

The Triumphs bear witness to Mantegna's inventive and innovative genius. He had taken an existing theme and transformed and extended its powers. Caesar had been

chosen for portrayal because his reputation as a general (unlike his political career) was beyond question and without controversy.[223] His Gallic and Pontic Triumphs were appropriate as they were without the taint of civil war.[224] As far as literary sources are concerned, Mantegna had achieved a considerable feat of textual simplification and conflation.[225] The theme was one of triumph. Mantegna's conflation of the literary sources took the form of using the two most complete accounts of Roman triumphs that survive. The first was Appian's description of the Triumph of Scipio, the second was that of Plutarch on the Triumph of Paulus Aemelius. Mantegna then joined the two descriptions together,while retaining the details in the same order as they appear in Appian and Plutarch. Thus it was that the theme of the Triumph could be both richly-detailed and historically accurate. By retaining the two details about Caesar from Suetonius' account of the latter, Mantegna could ensure that likely critics would be satisfied. The result was a splendid propaganda image, historically and archaeologically plausible, expressed in the form of a rich and animated procession in which the figures move with an animated quality that foreshadows the lyricism of Mantegna's final main works (including the so-called "Allegories" for Isabella's *Studiolo*). Thus, glory was reflected on both Caesar and on the Gonzaga.

Mantegna's last years (1496-1506) were haunted by illness, bitterness and debt. This did not weaken his creative force. Besides a series of devotional subjects, and the "Allegories" painted for Isabella d'Este,

Mantegna executed a number of very fine *grisaille* compositions.[226] These took the form of simulated reliefs, chiefly in umber, with the figures arranged in two shallow planes. Mantegna was responding to the strong tradition of monochrome painting that had prevailed in the Veneto and also to the influence of Pliny, Quintilian and Alberti.[227] Mantegna met this supreme test of an artist's understanding of the nature of the fall of light upon the physical world consummately. This is best seen in his composition, The Introduction of the Cult of Cybele to Rome [Figs.16,17], one of a group of four similar works commissioned from Mantegna by Francesco Cornaro (1481-1546) during the early months of 1505. It is now at the National Gallery, London. This work (in common with the other monochromes) has provoked arguments concerning its supposed shortcomings: the ambiguity arising out of the nature of the composition is almost certainly deliberate.[228] The result is a double resonance set up on the one hand by the monochrome figures against the multi-coloured background of simulated marble, and on the other by the composition along two principal lateral planes against the implication of recession directly away from the viewer by the conception of the figures and their actions.

The real relevance of the *grisaille* compositions lies in the way in which literary sources were translated into visual terms and in the implied relationship between artist, patron and probable adviser. One may see this to the best advantage in The Introduction of the Cult of Cybele to Rome.[229] The Samson and Delilah (also at the

National Gallery,London,)is another good example.[230] In the former, Mantegna has again conflated a number of themes (triumph,justification and veneration) in a new arrangement.[231] As in the Madonna of The Rocks, a number of subtle motifs have been used, as would be expected in a work intended for intimate contemplation. In the Samson and Delilah, it is the expression on Delilah's face that is the most remarkable aspect: it does not show triumph but rather sad contemplation.[232] The viewer is compelled to consider the irrevocability of the events signified.

In The Introduction of the Cult of Cybele to Rome [Figs.16,17], one may observe that diplomacy and dynastic glorification are as important as the Humanist erudition that the work represents. First and foremost,Francesco II was fulfilling an obligation to the Cornaro. This great patrician Venetian family had frequently employed Francesco II as *condottiere* of their forces.[233] Thus,it would have been a mere formality for Messer Francesco Cornaro (b.1481-d.1546) to commission a set of four *grisaille* paintings from Mantegna by obtaining the necessary dispensation from the Gonzaga (as Mantegna was not allowed to accept commissions outside the Gonzaga family without permission). This was probably done in the very early months of 1505.[234] However,there is some doubt as to the extent to which Francesco Cornaro was naturalized in Humanist culture. It is possible that the Humanist, Pietro Bembo (b.1470-d.1546) or Francesco's brother, Marco, were responsible for the *invenzioni* of the paintings.[235] Although all four of the compositions had been sketched-out on the canvases, only The

Introduction of the Cult of Cybele to Rome was completed before Mantegna's death in September,1506. From the iconographical standpoint,this work (as were the three others) is in the manner of the Triumphs of Caesar, but executed in the manner of a frieze. There is the same conflation of diverse visual motifs; the same meticulous detail,with some anecdotal devices. There is the same adroit use of gesture and posture.

The selection and use of the literary sources displays a similar skill,in a work which (along with the three others) was,above all,commissioned to celebrate the supposed achievements of the Cornaro in antiquity.The Cornaro identified themselves totally with the *gens Cornelia*,one of the greatest of all Roman patrician families.[236] This family had exercised,in the persons of the Scipios,those qualities of military prowess and civic virtue that were so highly-prized by the Romans.The Cornaro,as Venetian patricians,were required to manifest these same qualities in the service of the Venetian Republic.

There are ,potentially,six literary sources for The Introduction of the Cult of Cybele to Rome; namely, Juvenal, Valerius Maximus, Livy, Ovid, Catullus and Lucretius.The first author provided inspiration for the inscription,the others gave Mantegna guidance for various visual details in the composition;Livy, in fact, being the general source for the background of the entire composition (as well as for some details). What is so clear here is that Mantegna's translation of verbal image into visual counterpart is straightforward: the

originality of the composition lies in the arrangement of the motifs.This was governed by the theme,which is one of triumph,justification and veneration.

The hero is Publius Scipio, who, in 204 B.C. was decreed by the Senate as being the most virtuous of all the Romans. Mantegna has derived the scene from the account given by Valerius Maximus in his Memorabilia.[237] This was an anthology of *exempla* (i.e.,stories of memorable actions or quotations) which was arranged in accordance with the virtues that the *exemplum* illustrated.The Memorabilia was a very popular work in the fifteenth century. Further evidence of Mantegna's use of the Memorabilia is given by the building on the extreme right of the composition [Fig.16].It looks as much like a private house as a temple. Valerius Maximus stated that Publius Scipio kept the image of Cybele in his own house until such time as a proper temple would be built for the goddess. Livy had provided the material for the general background of the story of the reception of Cybele at Rome.[238] However, Mantegna had wished to present a procession, the focus of interest of which was the coming of the image of Cybele. To this end, he had deliberately taken licence with Livy's account and neatly dovetailed a vivid image from Ovid,which describes the rite of the Phrygian cult,into the composition.[239] Thus, although the procession is advancing along the *Via Appia* (the tombs of the Scipios indicate that), there are no Roman matrons carrying the image of the goddess. Instead, Mantegna has substituted four young men who are carrying the bust of Cybele on a platform [Fig.16] towards a mixed

group of Roman and Phrygian attendants of the goddess.The Phrygians have been depicted as being somewhat effeminate in costume and facial features; one of which has gone forward with great eagerness to greet the image of Cybele [Fig.17].There is no question of this person being a woman; the prominent Adam's apple rules this out.[240] The probable inspiration for this motif was Catullus' poem, Attis, which describes the fervent pilgrimage of a young man to the shrine of Cybele on Mount Ida.[241] Much of the detail of the costumes of the Phrygians is derived from the writings of Juvenal.[242] There are also references from Lucretius.[243] One may note [Fig.16] the turbans and the loose trousers worn by them,also the hat worn by one of the bearers of the litter carrying the image of Cybele,on the extreme left of the composition [Fig.16]. It is like a mitre, only in this case it is divided longitudinally and not laterally. The feathers worn by the musician,on the extreme left of the composition [Fig.16], were inspired by the description, related by Lucretius,of the *Curetes* who accompanied Cybele's image in ceremonial processions.[244]

The simulated marble background is remarkable for the fact that it is in two different colour-schemes. The division is centred on the figure of Scipio himself [Fig.16]. One is led to recall the Madonna of The Rocks [Fig.15] in the use of a background for diachronic and symbolic purposes. It is probable that Mantegna has drawn upon Ovid's account of the reception of Cybele.[245] The poet related that the goddess' image, after being kept for the night by the River Tiber, was taken further up

river on the following day,when and where it was received by attendants and washed by a priest. Mantegna has, again, conflated time and space.

Mantegna lost nothing and gained a great deal by adopting the *grisaille* technique. The use of greyish figures against a simulated background gave great force to the message of the work. The figures are given considerable compositional solidarity (and solidity) by the grey tints. The colour grey has the property of acting as a foil for, and thus enhancing, any other colour. The visual impact is far greater than would have been the case if a naturalistic colour-scheme had been adopted. However,the move to a monochrome scheme was far less radical from the intellectual standpoint.It was perfectly logical and in accordance with the tectonic approach to colour that Mantegna never changed throughout his career. It was wholly correct that an artist whose response to the created world was naturalistic, but never literalistic, should use variegated marble to convey a sense of drama and moment just as effectively as, say, a bank of approaching storm-clouds could. This is an excellent example of the matter of the super-real in Mantegna's art. Mantegna's naturalism was a very selective form of naturalism; in it one sees Mantegna emphasize the plastic quality of forms in three-dimensional integrity with the colour apparently embedded in the surface of the form. Textural variation, as would be the case in Netherlandish art, is minimal or absent; nevertheless. it is as thoroughly convincing as the latter. In The Introduction of the Cult of Cybele to

Rome, one sees the most fluent conflation of literary sources and of time and space that any master of the Quattrocento and early Cinquecento could achieve.

If there are any doubts about Mantegna's date of birth, there can be none concerning that of his death; 13th September, 1506, "at seven in the evening".[246] Mantegna not only left a legacy of great works but also a small quantity of letters, twenty-two in number. Most of these convey the image of a formidable and uningratiating personality.[247] However, there is one letter that provides vital insight into Mantegna's artistic powers and the way in which he used them.[248] In 1487, Pope Innocent VIII had completed his new villa of Belvedere. He summoned artists to Rome to decorate it. Mantegna's task was to decorate the chapel. His frescoes have not survived; they were already badly-decayed by the early eighteenth century and were entirely lost when Pius VI ordered the chapel to be demolished in 1780. However, it is known that the style of the frescoes was very similar to those of the *Camera Picta*.

Innocent VIII had written to Francesco II Gonzaga requesting Mantegna's services, and Mantegna duly departed for Rome on 10th June, 1488.[249] He completed the frescoes during 1490, but his return to Mantua was delayed by several months owing to an illness.[250] The letter in question was written on 15th June, 1489. It is quite lengthy and contains the usual complaints about pay; however, there is a passage devoted to a description of the Turkish prince, Djem, then being held prisoner by Innocent VIII. The sheer fluency of the description would

lead one to doubt that it was an isolated example.It is an excellent piece of creative writing; in about 391 words an unforgettable image of an exotic and fearsome personage is conveyed. This is achieved by the skilful interweaving of the main character image, the details, deliberate exaggeration and anecdote. This may be appreciated in Andrew Martindale's excellent translation of the relevant passage,with the addition of the phrase,"Well done" (in Latin in the original document),which reinforces the generally sarcastic tone of the letter. The omissions in the text are Martindale's.[251]

The brother of the Turk is here in His Holiness' palace,very well guarded.The Pope allows him a great many amusements of different sorts,such as hunting, music, singing and such like.Often he comes to eat here in the new palace where I am painting;and,although only a foreigner,he customarily behaves quite well.There is a certain proud superiority about him:he never takes his hat off to the Pope (actually he hasn't got a proper hat),and the result of this is that less than nobody takes their hoods off to him.He eats five times a day and sleeps as much.Well done.He drinks sugared water like a monkey.....He has one eye,which is very peculiar.Often he keeps it closed;and when he opens it,it reminds me of Fra Rafaello.He has the airs of a great master although he is without any possessions whatsoever;he also has the gait of an elephant.His own people say much in his favour,in particular,that he rides horses very well.Perhaps this is so;I have never seen (it),neither in the stirrups nor giving any demonstration.He is a remarkably cruel man.He killed at least four men;and a few days ago,he set upon one of his interpreters with his fists,so that they had to carry the interpreter down to the river to get him to recover.It is said that he is often visited by Bacchus.He is extremely feared by his people.He takes little account of anything,as becomes one who has neither understanding nor judgement.He lives after his own fashion.He sleeps with his clothes on.He gives audience squatting with his legs crossed,like a tailor.He carries piled up on his head 30,000 yards of cloth;he has a pair of trousers so enormous that if you stand him up inside them he disappears from view.This amazes the entire company.As soon as I have studied him,I shall send a drawing of him to your excellency.I ought to send it now but I haven't yet completed it properly.For sometimes he glances one way,sometimes

another,rather like a man in love,so that I am incapable of retaining what he looks like in my memory.He certainly has a disturbing face,especially when Bacchus visits him.

The elements of the passage can be dissected out;first,there is the Main Character Image;

There is a certain proud superiority about him.

He has the airs of a great master although he is without any possessions whatsoever.

His own people say much in his favour.

He is a remarkably cruel man.He killed at least four men;and a few days ago,he set upon one of his interpreters with his fists,so that they had to carry the interpreter down to the river to get him to recover.

He is extremely feared by his people.

He takes little account of anything,as becomes one who has neither understanding nor judgement.

Secondly,the Details;

He eats five times a day and sleeps as much.

He drinks sugared water before his meals,like a monkey.

It is said that he is often visited by Bacchus.

He lives after his own fashion.

He sleeps with his clothes on.

He gives audience squatting with his legs crossed,like a tailor.

Thirdly,some Deliberate Exaggeration;

He carries piled up on his head 30,000 yards of cloth.

He has a pair of trousers so enormous that if you stand him up inside them he disappears from view.

Fourthly,some Anecdotes;

Often he keeps it (i.e.,the eye) closed;and when he opens it,it reminds me of Fra Rafaello.

For sometimes he glances one way,sometimes another,rather like a man in love.

Mantegna has very skilfully alternated the elements of the Main Character Image with Detail, Deliberate

Exaggeration and Anecdote. By weaving these elements together, like the warp and weft of a sheet of cloth, Mantegna raises and lowers the drama, thereby creating a steady rythmn and thus maintaining descriptive pace and holding the interest of the reader. The use of deliberate exaggeration is particularly worthy of note: there is exactly enough to arrest the attention of the reader and to provide a little comic relief, while at the same time crystallizing in a striking way an unforgettable impression of an exotic and awesome figure. The pen-portrait given is naturalistic, but not literalistic and thoroughly believable.

Mantegna possessed a supreme faculty of understanding what ideas were incorporated in a given theme, their order of importance and emphasis, and the most appropriate way of translating them into visual terms. The only accurate adjective that may be used to describe every aspect of the origin, evolution and character of Mantegna's art and style is "fluent". In the light of all this, one may now examine the so-called "Allegories" painted for the *Studiolo* of Isabella d'Este.

Footnotes to Chapter 2.

1. Lazzarini,V;Moschetti,A;"Documenti relativi alla pittura padovana" Archivio Veneto, n.s.,XV,1908, pp.72-100,249-321;XVI,1908,pp.68-102. Venice,1908. Reprinted separately,1974,Bologna(Ed.M.Muraro). Sartori.P.A.;(Ed.C.Fillerni.),Documenti per la storia dell'arte a Padova,Vicenza,1976,p.144. Lightbown,R;Mantegna.With a Complete Catalogue of the Paintings,Drawings and Prints,Oxford,1986,p.15.
2.Shaw,K.V.;Boccia-Shaw,T.M.;"Mantegna's Pre-1448 Years Re-Examined:The S. Sofia Inscription"; Art Bulletin, Vol.LXXI,Washington,Providence,1989,pp.47-57);The authors challenge the authenticity of the S.Sofia Inscription and its implications for Mantegna's much-acknowledged artistic precocity.They argue from the standpoint of orthography and epigraphy,with an examination of the published documents dealing with Mantegna's adoption by Squarcione and his enrollment in the Guild of Paduan painters.Whilst one may admit the spuriousness of the Inscription that Scardeone recorded(and contrast it with the statement of Maganza)and the uncertainty of the date of Mantegna's matriculation,it still remains the case that one is dealing with a young artist of considerable intellectual maturity.One could be generous and add six years to Mantegna's accepted age.This cannot alter the fact that Mantegna was in receipt of commissions and payments of considerable substance for his years.The well-known evidence,cited by the authors,of the amount claimed by Mantegna against Squarcione in his lawsuit of November,1455,is testimony of this.One has to ask oneself;how many of Mantegna's contemporaries were in the same position? Certainly not the other *Squarcioneschi*. Only the mature masters who had visited Padua and had been such a source of inspiration to the young Mantegna could command fees as great or greater.When all the evidence offered by the authors is allowed for,the claim for the precocity of Mantegna remains strong.
3.Rigoni,E;L'arte rinascimentale in Padova:studi e documenti,Padua,1970,pp.1,11.
Lazzarini,Moschetti,1908,(Ed.Muraro)1974,pp.14-61.
Sartori,A(Ed.Fillerni),1976,pp.220,223.
Lightbown,1986,pp.15-29.
Kristeller,1901,pp.19-32.
Garavaglia,ed.cit.,1971,p.6.
4.Rigoni,1970,p.58.Lightbown,1986,p.30.
5.Lightbown,1986,pp.32,255 (footnote 9).
Christiansen,K.;"The Art of Andrea Mantegna",Idem (with D.Ekserdjian,A.C.de la Mare),"Early Works;Padua",Andrea Mantegna (Ed.by J.Martineau,with S.Boorsch,K. Christiansen,D.Ekserdjian,C.Hope,D.Landau,*et al*.Catalogue of the Exhibition staged at the Royal Academy of Arts 17 Jan.-5 April,1992;and at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,9 May-12 July,1992.),pp.32-44,94-150.(Andrea Mantegna,1992).
6.Lightbown,1986,pp.65-77.
7.Ibid.,p.77.
8.Ibid.,pp.77-97.

9.Ibid.,1986,p.77.Kempers,B.(Trans.B.Jackson.):Painting, Power and Patronage.The Rise of the Professional Artist in the Italian Renaissance,London,1992,pp.197-98,241. Kempers deals with the Renaissance in Tuscany:Mantegna and the Gonzaga are mentioned only in passing.
10.Lightbown,1986,Plates 9-13,33,38-43,50,51,113,114, 121;pp.35,36,48,50,51,et passim.
Kristeller,1901,p.110;Jones,R.;"Mantegna and Materials", I Tatti Studies.Studies in the Renaissance,II,Florence, 1987,pp.71-90.Lippincott,K.;"Mantegna and the *scientia* of painting",Mantegna and 15th-Century Court Culture. Lectures delivered in connection with the Andrea Mantegna exhibition at the Royal Academy of Arts,London,1992. (Eds.F.Ames-Lewis and A.Bednarek.),London,1993, pp.45-55.(Mantegna,1993.)

Kristeller is not quite correct in saying that the landscape in The Execution of St.James (Eremitani Frescoes)is,"the first example of Mantegna's oft-recurring type of a broad,hilly country,with castles and antique ruins,animated by numerous little figures".These elements are all present in the earliest scenes from the Life of St.James (i.e.The Calling of James and John, and The Preaching of St.James). However,he is correct in stating that,"for the first time we meet here with a graduated background....and it produces a natural effect in spite of the neglect of aerial perspective".
11.Lightbown,1986,pp.47-48,et passim.
Kristeller,1901,pp.98-110.
Testi,L;La storia della pittura veneziana,2 Vols. Bergamo,1909-15;Vol.1,1909,pp.478-83. Lippincott, 1993,pp.45-55.
12.Lightbown,1986,p.51.Kristeller,1901,pp.105-7. Martindale,A.H.R.(in N. Garavaglia,The Complete Paintings of Mantegna,London,1971,p.6.English Ed.of L'Opera completa del Mantegna(Classici del Arte),Milan,1967.). Crowe,J.A.;Cavalcaselle,G.B.;A History of Painting in North Italy;Venice, Padua,Vicenza, Verona, Ferrara, Milan, Friuli,Brescia;From the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century,Ed.Tacred Borenius;3 Vols.,London, 1871;2nd.Ed.,London,1912.Vol.2,pp.29,32,33-34,36,39(and footnote),109.Kemp,M.J.;The Science of Art.Optical Themes in Western Art from Brunelleschi to Seurat,New Haven, London,1990,pp.264-74(esp.264-67).

Kristeller is correct in cautioning one that the apparent change to warmer tones in The Execution of St.James (Eremitani Frescoes) may have been due to restoration. Martindale does not see any significant change in Mantegna's treatment of colour until the Triumphs of Caesar (Hampton Court,Orangery).In this he echoes Crowe and Cavalcaselle, whose general assessment of Mantegna's handling of colour is very accurate. Mantegna inherited,bag and baggage (via Cennini),the Aristotelian theory of colours.As with matters of light,it was essentially empirical and made very little or no analysis of quality.It is remarkable that,given the weaknesses that Kemp makes clear (1990,p.265), Mantegna made such effective use of the system (especially in his use of *Cangianti* effects).
Clark,K;Piero della Francesca,Complete Edition,London, New York,1951,1969,p.24.Clark has the last word here.

13.Lightbown,1986,p.227. Christiansen,K.; "Some Observations on Mantegna's Painting Technique"; Rothe,A.;"Mantegna's Paintings in Distemper", Andrea Mantegna,1992, pp.68-80,80-88. Dunkerton,J.;"Mantegna's painting techniques", Mantegna,1993, pp.26-38. Dunkerton emphasizes the interest that Mantegna had in the surface-texture of his paintings and their supports. She demonstrates, from a radiographic examination of a selection of surviving works, that Mantegna took particular care over the selection of materials for the support,the ground-layers,the paints and the final varnish.
Martindale (in Garavaglia,Ed.Cit.,1971,p.6.).
14.Lightbown,1986,pp.136-38 (for Mantegna's rendering of the Brera Dead Christ,c.1480-90;cf.Smith,R;"Natural versus scientific vision:the foreshortened figure in the Renaissance",Gazette des Beaux-Arts,ser.6,Vol. LXXXIV; Paris,1974,pp.239-48.).
Kemp,1990,p.43,Figs.68,69.Kubovy,M;The Psychology of Perspective and Renaissance Art,Cambridge,1986,pp.7-12, 14-16,24-25,44-45,137-40,148,158.
Arnheim,R;Art and Visual Perception,a Psychology of the Creative Eye.The New Version,Berkeley,Los Angeles, London,1974,pp.33,119;Arnheim argues that contractions which are projected along the axes of symmetry must be handled with care.This is because the symmetrical view thus produced looks "frozen"(sic) and,therefore,much more stable in itself.An asymmetrical side view clearly implies the customary front view from which it has deviated.A foreshortened front view has a dangerous propensity for looking like something natural in its own right,albeit squashed up.This is also true for the same symmetrical projections seen from a bird's eye or worm's eye view.Perhaps this is why such views are rare in art.Mantegna's Dead Christ is a famous example,in which the dangers of "fossilization" are offset by the sideward leaning of the head and the feet.Kubovy concentrates on Mantegna's Ovetari (Eremitani) frescoes and his *Oculus* for the *Camera Picta*.He has nothing that is really new to say about Mantegna's treatment of perspective.However,his observations concerning the deliberate discrepancy between the centre of projection and the vanishing-point (in the Ovetari St.James on the Way to Execution),so subtly set up by Mantegna,are useful.Kemp is much more precise and accurate in divining Mantegna's exploitation of the decorative environment of the *Camera Picta*, and his methods of foreshortening.
Martindale,A.H.R.;Andrea Mantegna:Historicus et Antiquarius,U.E.A. Inaugural Lecture, 3rd. December, 1974, p.5;"....what is clear is that by the time he painted the the Triumphs, he could manipulate both literary texts and visual evidence in a remarkable way.This problem is worth considering.....in choosing a Triumph of Julius Caesar, Mantegna and his patron were settling for a subject about which there was (and is) very little evidence.....On the general subject of Roman Triumphs, however, there was only too much information. Between roughly 1455 and 1465 there had been a spate of antiquarian research on the subject.....the surviving literary publications laid out at the disposal

of the artist more or less every textual detail available at the time,and there was a great deal of it.What Mantegna achieved....was a remarkable feat of textual simplification.....he took what are still the two most complete literary accounts of Triumphs...Appian on the Triumph of Scipio and Plutarch on the Triumph of Paulus Aemelius.All the other sources he laid on one side,apart from the two details about Caesar from Suetonius.He then dovetailed the two texts into each other,laying out the ingredients,nevertheless,in the order in which they come in the original texts.In this way,it is possible to claim that no violence has been done to the two texts since the sequence of events is closely followed.The result is an extremely richly endowed procession which also has some reasonable claim to classical accuracy."
Martindale,A.H.R.;The Triumphs of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Hampton Court,London,1979,pp.56-91 (Esp.p.63,Para.2).
Lightbown,1986,pp.140-53.
15.Lightbown,1986,p.77.
Kristeller,1901,pp.1-58,105-19,155,166-78,213-330;
Berenson,B; The Italian Painters of the Renaissance, London,1952,1953;pp.146-58.
16.Kristeller,P.;Andrea Mantegna,London,1901,p.338.
17.Idem.,1901,p.341.
18.Idem.,1901,p.341.
19.Lightbown,1986,pp.15-29.Martindale(in Garavaglia, Ed.cit.,London,1971,p.7).Shaw,Boccia-Shaw,1989,pp.47-57.
Lazzarini,Moschetti,1908,(Ed.Muraro),1974,pp.14-61.
Sartori,A.(Ed.Fillerni),1976,pp.219-26.
Muraro,M;"Francesco Squarcione,pittore umanista", Da Giotto al Mantegna,Exhib.Cat.,Padua,1974,pp.68-74).
Boskovits,M;"Una ricerca su Francesco Squarcione", Paragone,XXVIII,Part 1,No.325,Florence,1977,pp.40-70).
Sambini,P;"Per la biografia di Francesco Squarcione: briciole documentarie",Medioevo e rinascimento Veneto. Medioevo e umanesimo,No.34,1979,pp.443-65.).
20.Lightbown,1986,pp.15-25.Kristeller,1901,p.23.Crowe and Cavalcaselle,ed.cit.,1912,Vol.2,pp.45-79;
Lightbown's claim that the problem arising from the discrepancy between Squarcione's claims as a teacher and founder of a School (especially of one which was apparently crucial in the teaching of the "new art" of the Quattrocento) and the actual quality of surviving autograph works may be artificial,"because it moves from the false assumption that only an excellent artist can be an excellent teacher of art"(p.15) is not convincing.At no time was Squarcione aware of the real implications of an art which interpreted the physical world in a dynamic way. His grasp of the "new style" was piece-meal and superficial. The observations of Kristeller and of Crowe and Cavalcaselle remain the most accurate.
21.Armstrong,L;The Paintings and Drawings of Marco Zoppo, New York,London,1976,pp.11-28,et seq.
22.Cennini(Cennino d'Andrea Cennini,Il libro dell'Arte, c.1437;Tr.D.V.Thompson,Jr.),The Craftsman's Handbook,New Haven,Connecticut,1933;New York,1954,1960,pp.2-3,15-16.
Schofield,R;Sironi,G;Shell,J;Giovanni Antonio Amadeo. Documents/Documenti,Como,1989,passim.

An accurate idea of the teaching proceedures that would have prevailed in Squarcione's *bottega* may be gained from Cennini.The important matter here was teaching by example.Descriptions of the contents of Squarcione's premises emphasize the amount of drawings and plaster-casts in his possession.Cennini emphasizes the need for a respect for authority.The qualities he admired in a master's pupil were enthusiasm, reverence, obedience and constancy. The aspiring artist should also lead a sober life. The other authority which had to be respected was Nature. Cennini stressed the need for the constant copying from Nature,the "triumphal gateway"(sic).One should draw every day. Drawings,plaster-casts and Nature provided more in the way of significant teaching for Mantegna than the person of Squarcione ever did.

23.Rigoni,1970,pp.15-17.

24.Lightbown,1986,p.32.

25.Clark,1951,1969,pp.12-14.

26.Kristeller,1901,pp.18-60.

27.Bennett,B.A.and Wilkins,D.G.;Donatello,Oxford,1984, pp.30,153-54,166-67,208-09,159.Figs.101,127,128,97,98, 89,76,93.Janson,H.W.;The Sculpture of Donatello, Princeton,1963,pp.162-87.
Flaiano,E(Ed),Tomasi,L.T.;L'opere completa di Paolo Uccello,Milan,1971,pp.83,93-95.Pope-Hennessy,J;The Complete Work of Paolo Uccello,London,1950,pp.10-12,28.

28.Gnudi.C;Giotto,1959,pp.109-75,252-57.

29.Ibid.,p.114.

30.Ibid..Figs.72-124.

31.Lightbown,1986,Plates 2-9.

32.Barasch,M;Giotto and The Language of Gesture, Cambridge,1988,passim.The whole aspect of gesture (and,for that matter,of colour-symbolism) in Giotto's art is one that would merit further investigation. Barasch's work is thoroughly interesting but raises many more questions than answers.It is still too early to say whether or not the youthful Mantegna would divined and adopted Giotto's supposed system of gestural symbolism.The surviving evidence from Mantegna's works would suggest not.

33.Gnudi,1959,Figs.132-40.

34.Lightbown,1986,Plate 8.

35.Gnudi,1959,Fig.116.

36.Ibid.,Figs.117,118,119.

37.Ibid.,Figs.73,76,116.

38.Vasari,Le Vite de'più Eccellenti Pittori,Scultori e Architettori,Eds.P.D.Pergola,L.Grassi,G.Previtali.Rev.A. Rossi;Notes and Bibliography, Eds.G.Previtali,P.Ceschi (Text is of the Giuntina Edition of 1568).9 Vols.,Milan, 1962-66;Vol.2,pp.166-67.

39.Vasari,Ed.cit.,Vol.2,pp.164-65.

40.Janson,H.W.,1963,pp.163-64.Gloria,A;Donatello fiorentino e le sue opere mirabili nel tempo di S.Antonio di Padova,Padua,1895,pp.6-78.
Lazzarini,1906,Vol.XII,p.161,et seq.Band,R;Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts im Florenz,Vol.5, 1940,pp.334,et seq,Doks.1,58.

41.Bennett and Wilkins,1984,pp.153-54,166-67. Figs.101,127,128,97,98,89,76,93.Janson,1963,pp.90,92-95,136,162-87.Figs.60d,39a,41.

42.Janson,1963.pp.162-87.Figs.84b,86b,85a,b.Bennett and Wilkins,1984,pp.166-67.FIG.97.
43.Janson,1963,Figs.85b,87b.
44.Bennett,Wilkins,1984,FIG.97.
Janson,1963,Figs.85a,87a.
45.Martindale (Intro.,in Garavaglia,Ed.cit.,1971,p.6).
46.Kristeller,1902,pp.32-35.Fletcher,J.;"Mantegna and Venice",Mantegna,1993,pp.17-25.
47.This may be clearly seen in the beard and mane of Pegasus,in the Parnassus (1497,now at The Musée du Louvre,Paris);this Thesis,Figs.1,2.
48.Castelfranchi Vegas,L;Italia e Fiandra nella pittura del Quattrocento,Milan,1983,pp.13-45(and footnotes,pp.44-46),233-62(and footnotes,pp.262-63).Baldass,L;Jan van Eyck,London,1952,pp.100-04.Faggin,G.T.(Notes and Cat.), Hughes,R.(Intro.),The Complete Paintings of The Van Eycks(Classics of World Art),London,1970,pp.5,98-99, 93,83-85.Gombrich,E.H.,"Light,Form and Texture in Fifteenth Century Painting",Journal of the Royal Society of Arts,Vol.CXII,London,1964,pp.826-49 (repr. in, The Heritage of Apelles,Oxford,1976,pp.31-32).Ames-Lewis,F.; "Princes,Court-Painters and Netherlandish Art", Mantegna,1993,pp.103-114.(Indexed as "Princes,Painters and Netherlandish Art".)

Castelfranchi Vegas deals comprehensively with the interaction between the art of the Low Countries and that of the Quattrocento of her native Italy, however, some of her inferences seem far-fetched and she fails to acknowledge the parallel but fundamentally different kinds of naturalism that developed in Italian and Netherlandish art respectively.In spite of Baldass' assertions to the opposite,it has to be said that the Italian Quattrocento represents the greater School of art.This is because of the sheer consistency of its intellectual rigour.The Italians were aware that the outside world that they saw was as much an illusion as that which they painted.The Flemings were not.

One can do no better than join with Gombrich in saying that the great strength and peculiar property and achievement of the Flemings was their use of light.The works of van Eyck, van der Weyden, Petrus Christus (and their native followers) are infused with an intense luminosity.It was this sheer luminosity (obtained by the use of several hard resin oil-glazes) that so captivated the Italians. Without this quality the superbly-rendered impressions of texture would have been lifeless.
49.Castelfranchi Vegas,1983,pp.55,13-16,34-38,39-45,52-56,65-67,70,77-81,86,87,121-25,133-36,153,160,194-201, 225-26,262.
50.Ibid.,pp.55,49,52-56,65-72,86-88,123,125,134,155-56, 192,196,200,233-37,257,260.
51.Ibid.,pp.55,43,70,81,85-88,121-27,134,187,192-97,233, 237,240,260.
52.Ibid.,pp.55,54,70,72,87-88,123,125,156-60,185-88,195-97,201,257,272.
53.Ibid.,pp.55,125,259,269,270-72,280,290.
54.Ibid.,pp.55,54,70,125,135-36,195-96,198-99,201,225-26.
55.Ibid.,p.55.
56.Kristeller,1901,p.45.

57.Davies,M:Rogier van der Weyden,New York, London,1972,pp.6,13-17,19-20,23-24,26,188-89,206,212.
58.Davies,1972,p.15.
59.Ibid.,1972,p.20. Panofsky,E; Early Netherlandish Painting, Its Origins and Character, Princeton, 1953, pp.273-74; In the left and right upper parts of Rogier's Uffizi Lamentation,the sense of distance is emphasized by the use of very small figures. This is a device that Mantegna had used in the Eremitani fresco cycle.It remains debatable as to whether or not he was inspired by Northern examples such as this.
60.Davies,1972,pp.19-20,23-24,26.(p.26.),"No air ,no flesh,not a colourist,no joy of living:narrow.Yet high intellectual art is "narrow"".
61.Von Böde,W:Die Kunst der Frührenaissance in Italien (Propylaen-Kunstgeschichte,VIII),Berlin,1923,p.67, "Mantegna war kein Kolorist;seine Richtung auf strenge Zeichnung,plastiche Ründung und ausserste Durchführung lässt in seinen Tafelbildern die Farben meist kuhl und gegentlich selbst hart,seine Ausführung leicht allzu sorgfältig erscheinen".

The question of the relationship between the Flemish and the Italian Schools of art during the Fifteenth Century has prompted unwise and tendentious comments:e.g.,Allen,G:Evolution in Italian Art, London, 1908,p.248,(referring to Mantegna's Uffizi Triptych; the central panel,The Adoration of The Magi),"It is Flemish in its consciousness. Mantegna, indeed, was half-German; and I may note in passing that the Teutonic blood in Lombardy and the North made Lombard and Paduan art differ widely from Tuscan and Umbrian".
62.Gombrich,E.H.;"The Style *all'antica*;Imitation and Assimilation".in Norm and Form:Studies in the Art of the Renaissance, No.1, London, New York, 1966,1971,pp.122-29. Clark,K:"Andrea Mantegna"(Fred Cook Memorial Lecture, March,1958),Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, Vol.106,London,Dec.1957-Nov.,1958,pp.663-68.The remarks of both Clark and Gombrich concerning the nature of the revival of the Antique in the Arts and Letters,and the implications for Mantegna's formative years,remain the most valuable,as do those of Martindale,U.E.A., Norwich,Dec.1974,p.9,"Prototypes and sources are among the most misunderstood areas of art-historical research.It is commonly supposed by the layman that the art-historian seeks somehow to "write-down" an artist by discovering his "source",on the assumption that once this secret is revealed,the art has been captured and contained.I am never quite sure how this process is imagined but clearly it is something of a cross between the dance of the seven veils and the story of the Emperor's clothes.In fact,of course, this is a total misrepresentation.On the assumption that an artist is ,above all,visually inspired,one likes to recapture where possible his visual experience because this will give some clue to the way in which his imagination works".
63.Covi,D.A.;"Lettering in Fifteenth Century Florentine Painting",Art Bulletin,Vol.XLV,Washington,Providence, 1963,pp.1-17.Meiss,M;"Toward a More Comprehensive Renaissance Paleography",Art Bulletin,Vol.XLII,1960, pp.97-112.

64.Cosenza,M.E.; Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists and of the World of Classical Scholarship in Italy,1300-1800,2nd.Ed.,6 Vols., Boston,Mass.,1962-67;Vol.2,1169-71;Vol.5,593(Ciriaco d'Ancona),Vol.2,1256-57; Vol.5,633-34 (Pietro Donato); Vol.2,1370-71;Vol.5,690-91(Felice Feliciano);Vol.3,2160-61;Vol.5.1094-95(Giovanni Marcanova);Vol.1,686-87; Vol.5, 327-28 (Matteo Bosso);Lightbown,1986,p.40(Ulisse degli Aliotti). Ross,J.B.;"A Study of 12th C. interest in the Antiquities of Rome",in,Mediaeval and Historiographical Essays in honour of J.W.Thompson, 1938,pp.302-21. Ashmole,B;"Cyriac of Ancona",in,Proceedings of the British Academy,London,1957,pp.25-41.Also in Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,as,"Cyriac of Ancona and the Temple of Hadrian at Cyzicus",Vol.XIX, London, 1956,pp.179-91.Williams-Lehmanns,P;"Cyriacus of Ancona's Visit to Samothrace",in,Samothracian Reflections,Aspects of the Revival of the Antique, Princeton, (Bollingen Series),1973,pp.1-56. Mitchell,C;"Felice Feliciano "Antiquarius", in, Proceedings of the British Academy, London, 1961,pp.197-221.Momigliano,A;"Ancient History and the Antiquarian",in,Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,Vol.XIII,1950,pp.285-315.Soranzo,G;L'umanista canonico regolare lateranense Matteo Bosso di Verona(1427-1502),1965,Ch.1. Mutini,C;in,Dizionario biografico degli Italiani,Vol.XIII,Rome,1971,pp.341-44. Mantegna would have known Giovanni Marcanova through his acquaintance with Matteo Bosso and Felice Feliciano.It is most unlikely that he would have met Cyriaco d'Ancona.It is all the more interesting,therefore,that some of Cyriaco's sentiments would have found immediate sympathy from Mantegna (E.g.,as quoted by P.Burke from Cyriaco's Itinerarium,Ed.Mehus, Florence, 1742, p.54, in, The Renaissance Sense of The Past, London, 1969, 1970, p.25),"It is obvious,most worthy father,that we are able by our art not only to raise from the depths monuments which have been destroyed,but also to bring the names of cities back into the light.Oh what a great,what a divine power has this art of ours:"

65.Weiss,R;The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity, Oxford,1969,pp.23,28-29.Muntz,E;L'art a la cour des Papes,Vol.II,Paris,1879,pp.200ff. Zeno,A:Dissertazioni Vossiane,Vol.I,1752,Cols.189-96, pp.140-46.Sighinolfi,L;"La biblioteca di Giovanni Marcanova",in, Collectanea variae doctrinae Leoni S.Olschki oblata,Munich,1921,pp.187-222.Levi,C.A;Le collezioni veneziane d'arte e d'antichità,Vol.I, 1900,pp.XXXV-XXXXVII.Mellini,G.L.;Altichiero e Jacopo Avanzi,1965,pp.25-32,Figs.1-17,28-42.Cessi,F;"Monetazione e medaglistica Carraresi",in,Da Giotto al Mantegna, Padua,1974,pp.86-89.

66.Felice Feliciano,Alphabetum Romanum,1464, (Ed.G. Mardersteig,Verona,1960,pp.18-19.

67.Lightbown,1986,pp.30-57.Kristeller,1901,pp.61-118. Moschini,V:Gli affreschi del Mantegna agli Eremitani di Padova.Bergamo,1944 (Intro.).Bettini,S.,Puppi,L;La Chiesa degli Eremitani di Padova,Vicenza,1970,Ch.1.

68.Lightbown,1986,Plates 2,3,4-6,9.

69.Ibid.,p.23.

70.Ibid.,Plates 4,5,6.

71.Ibid..Plates 2,9,10,11.
72.Weiss,R;"Jan van Eyck and the Italians",in,Italian Studies.XI.1956,pp.1-15;XII.1957,pp.7-21.Osano,S;"Rogier van der Weyden e l'Italia",in,Antichità viva,XX,1981, n.4,pp.14-21;n.5,pp.5-14.Campbell,L;"Notes on Netherlandish Pictures in the Veneto in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries",in Burlington Magazine,Vol.CXXIII, London,1981,pp.467-73.See also Footnotes 53,54,55.
73.Alberti,L.B.;De Pictura,Ed.C.Grayson,On Painting and On Sculpture,London,1972,pp.39-59.New Ed.,Leon Battista Alberti.On Painting,with Intro.and Notes,by M.J.Kemp, Harmondsworth,1991,pp.37-59.Edgerton,S.Y.;The Renaissance Rediscovery of Linear Perspective,New York,1975, passim. Kemp,M.J.:Massing,A;"Paolo Uccello's Hunt in the Forest",in Burlington Magazine,Vol.CXXXIII,1991,pp.164-78.Gebhardt,V;"Some problems in the Reconstruction of Uccello's "Rout of San Romano "cycle",in Burlington Magazine.Vol.CXXXIII,1991,pp.179-85.Kemp,1990,pp.21-22, 36-40,41-3,69,342-45.Kubovy,1986,pp.137-40.
Collins,P;Mantegna and Forgery (Revised text ,with notes,of a public lecture given at the Duncan of Jordanstone College of Art,4th Dec.1985),pp.38-39.I am grateful to Peter Collins for sending me a copy of the revised text.Gombrich,E.H.,"Mirror and Map.Theories of Pictorial Representation",in,The Image and The Eye.Oxford,1982,pp.193,et seq.White,J;The Birth and Re-Birth of Pictorial Space,2nd Ed.,London,1967,p.206.Kemp's observations (1990) on the use that Alberti and Brunellschi made of the heritage of Euclid and Alhazen are by far the most valuable.The fact that Alberti was a man of letters and wrote his treatise,De Pictura, accordingly would have had a strong appeal for Mantegna.Kemp is also wise to alert the reader (1990,p.43) to the potential ambiguity of Mantegna's role in the origin and dissemination of formal perspective in the Veneto and Lombardy.

Peter Collins is an artist and teacher of known repute.It would be unwise to ignore his *caveats* on matters of composition. However,he has certainly overlooked the essential issues.This is, thoroughly dangerous when assessing the work of a master who could *FEEL* formal perspective and comprehend its compositional implications to a rare degree.

74.Mellini,1965,p.18(Fig. facing).
75.Lightbown,1986,pp.39-42,Plates 12,13.
76.Knabenshue,P.D.;"Ancient and Medieval Elements in Mantegna's "Trial of St.James",in Art Bulletin,Vol.XLI, Washington,Providence,1959,pp.51-73.Eisler,R;"Mantegnas frühe Werke und die römische Antike",in Monatsheft über Kunst und Kunstwissenschaft,III,1903,pp.159-69. Covi,1963,pp.1-17.
77.Mellini,1965,FIGS.138,62,178,180,181,182.
78.Lightbown,1986,Plate 12.
79.Gnudi,1959,Fig.106.Koch,M;Die Ruckenfigur im Bild von der Antike bis zu Giotto,1965,passim.
80.Bennett,Wilkins,1984,FIGS.89,209. Janson,H.W.,1963,Figs.84b,86b.
81.Lightbown,1986,p.39.
82.Ibid.,1986,pp.38-42.Knabenshue,1959,pp.59-73.

83.Eisler,J:The Genius of Jacopo Bellini.The Complete Paintings and Drawings.New York. London, Cologne, Paris, Milan,Madrid.1989,pp.198-99;Plates 84,86.
84.See footnotes 62-66.
85.See footnotes 62-66.
86.Lightbown,1986,p.41.
87.Mellini,1965,Fig.138.
88.Knabenshue,1959,p.70.Fiocco,G;Mantegna:La Cappella Ovetari nella Chiesa degli Eremitani,Milan,1947,Plate V.
89.Lightbown,1986,p.41.
90.Clark,K:Landscape into Art,London,1949,1973,pp.23-24,
44.Turner,A.R.:The Vision of Landscape in Renaissance Italy,Princeton,1966,1974,pp.67-72,74,156.
91.Ibid.,p.72. Ames-Lewis,F.;"The Agony in the Garden and Mantegna's treatment of Narrative",Mantegna,1993, pp.30-41.
92.Lightbown,1986,pp.47-57,Plates 14,15,16-20.
93.Rigoni,1970,pp.44-45.
94.Lightbown,1986,Plates 14,15,16-20.
95.Bennett,Wilkins,1984,pp.153-54.
Janson,1963,p.90,Fig.60d.
96.Kristeller,1901,pp.106-07.Eisler,1989,p.354,Plate 213.
Degenhart,B;Schmitt,A:Jacopo Bellini:The Louvre Album of Drawings,New York,1984,p.20.
97.Scardeone,B:De Antiquitate Urbis Patavii et Claris Civibus Patavinus libri tres,Basle,1560,pp.371-73.
Vasari,Ed.cit.,Vol.3,1963,pp.244-45.
98.Mellini,1965,Fig.62.
99.Alberti,Eds.cit.,1972,p.83,1991, p.79 (para.43).There are no fewer than thirty-two surviving examples of this motif from Bellini's corpus of drawings.The obvious possibility is that Mantegna could have been inspired by one (or more) of Bellini's drawings.All the surviving examples have been illustrated by Eisler (1989,Plates 26,88,89,96,110,112,117,118,119,124,126,129,131,132,135,139,141,171,172,175,191,206,208,209,213,226,254,261,282,288,292,295).Sindona,E;Pisanello,Milan,New York, 1961,p.21. Figs.51,52; Colourplate 66. Mantegna could have seen Pisanello's fresco of the Legend of St.George (formerly in the church of Sant'Anastasia,now in the church of San Giorgetto,Verona) where horses are shown in both front and rear foreshortened view.
100.Lightbown,1986,pp.51-57.
101.Ibid.,Plates 21,22.
102.Ibid.,1986,Plates 23-29.
103.Rigoni,1970,pp.17-20,42,44-45.
104.Legenda Aurea,by Jacopo de Voragine,Archbishop of Genoa(b.1228/30,reg.1288-98).Ed.used;La Legende Dorée de Jacques de Voragine nouvellement traduite en Français, avec introduction,notices,notes et réchérches sur les sources par L'Abbé J-B.M.Roze,3 Parts,Paris,1902.Part II,pp.268-83.
105.Rigoni,1970,pp.21-23.
106.Eisler,1989,pp.391,395,Plate 250.Eisler dismisses the liklihood of this. He states that the drawing of the Martyrdom of St.Christopher is a crude work that has nothing to do with Mantegna's composition in the Ovetari Chapel.
107.Pliny,Naturalis Historia;Ed.used;Pline L'Ancien, Histoire Naturelle.Livre XXXV.Texte Établi,Traduit et

Commente par Jean-Michel Croiselle,C.R.N.S.,Paris,1958, pp.68-69(v.74).
108.Alberti,Eds.cit.,1972,pp.53-54,1991,pp.53-54 (para.18).
109.Ashmole,1956,pp.179-91.
110.Alberti,Eds.cit.,1972,pp.79-83,1991,pp.75-89 (paras.40-43).
111.Alberti,Eds.cit.,1972,pp.81-83,1991,pp.76-78 (paras.41,42).Kristeller,1901,FIGS.26,27,29-32, 35,36,40,42-45.Lightbown,1986,Plates 12-20,23-25.
112.Plutarch:Moralia,Trs,F.C.Babbitt,W.C.Helmbold,P.H.de Lacey,B.Einarson,P.A.Clement,H.B.Hoffleit,E.L.Minar.Jr,F. H.Sandbach.H.N.Fowler,L.Pearson,H.Cherniss;Loeb Classical Library,16 Vols.,Harvard,1927-69; Vol.1(Tr. Babbitt), 1927.pp.92-93(v.17-18).
113.Lightbown.1986,Plate 30,Colourplate I. Garavaglia,Ed.cit.,1971,Plates VI,VII.
114.Lightbown,1986,pp.42-43.
115.Scardeone.1560,p.372.Cavacius;Historiarum Coenobii Divinae Justinae Libri sex,1606,1696,p.227.Sartori,in,La Basilica di Santa Giustina:arte e storia (Eds.P.L. Zovatto,N.Ivanoff,G.Bresciani Alvarez),Padua,1970, pp.433,458-59.
116.Lightbown,1986,pp.44-45.
117.Puppi,L;Il trittico di Andrea Mantegna per la Basilica di San Zeno Maggiore in Verona, Verona, 1972,pp.35-40,et seq.
118.Sindona,1961,pp.17,24,110 and n.57.Woods-Marsden,J; The Gonzaga of Mantua and Pisanello's Arthurian Frescoes, Princeton,1988,pp.32-37,87.
119.Lightbown,1986,pp.67-68.
120.See footnotes 62-65,and,Tamassia,A.M.;"Visioni di antichità nell'opera del Mantegna",in,Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia,series 3,XXVIII, Rome,1956,pp.213-49.Blum,I;Andrea Mantegna und die Antike,Strassburg,1936,passim.
121.Garavaglia,Ed.cit.;1971,Plates XXII,XXIII.
122.Ibid,1971,Plate XVIII.Lightbown,1986,Plate 42,Colourplate III.
123.Garavaglia,Ed.cit.,1971,Plate XVIII. Meiss,M;"Highlands in the Lowlands":Jan van Eyck,the Master of Flémalle and the Franco-Italian Tradition", in,The Painter's Choice,1976,pp.36-59.
124.Garavaglia,ed.cit.,1971,Plate XVIII.
125.Lightbown,1986,Colourplate III.
126.Ibid.,Plate 41.
127.Gombrich,1966,1971,p.6.Pliny;Ed.used;Pline L'Ancien, Histoire Naturelle.Livre XXXIV;Texte Établi et Traduit par H. Le Bonniec,commente par H. Gallet de Santerre et H. Le Bonniec,C.R.N.S.,Paris,1953,pp.129-30(v.61,65).
128.Kristeller,1901,pp.213-20.Crowe and Cavalcaselle, Ed.cit.,1912,Vol.II,pp.87-88.Knapp,F;Andrea Mantegna:des Meisters Gemälde und Küpferstiche (Klassiker der Kunst,16) Stuttgart,Leipzig,1910,pp.93-97,175. Thöde,H;Mantegna,Bielefeld,Leipzig,1897,pp.51-52. Venturi,A;"La pittura del quattrocento",3,pp.162-66, in,Storia dell'arte Italiana,Vol.VII, Milan,1914. Fiocco,1937,pp.51-52.Tietze-Conrat,1955,pp.12-13,107-08, 181-82.Paccagnini;(with A.Mezzetti and M.Figlioli),in,

Andrea Mantegna (The catalogue of the exhibition held at Mantua,1961).Venice,1961,pp.31-33.

Fiocco and Tietze-Conrat reject all association of the Uffizi Triptych with the Gonzaga chapel in the Castello di San Giorgio at Mantua.

129.Greenstein,J.M.;Historia in Leon Battista Alberti's On Painting and in Andrea Mantegna's Circumcision of Christ.Ph.D Thesis,Univ.of Pennsylvania,1984,p.62-63. Idem;Mantegna and Painting as Historical Narrative. Chicago,London,1992.This work is essentially an expansion of Greenstein's thesis.
Thöde,1897,pp.42,51,Fig.36.Knapp,1910,p.XLVI,Figs.97-98. Fiocco,G;Mantegna,Milan,1931,p.52,Plate 25. Venturi,1914,Vol.VII,3,pp.162-64.Tietze-Conrat,1955, pp.181-82.Garavaglia,Ed.cit.,1971,p.97.Plates XXV-XXVII. Camesasca,E;Mantegna (Tr.P.Creagh),Florence,1981, pp.22-28.Lightbown,1986,pp.91-93,413,Colourplate VI.

Thöde.Knapp and Fiocco were unwilling to state definitely whether or not the subject was the Circumcision or the Presentation.They labelled the panel The Circumcision in the text,but referred to it as The Presentation in the illustrations.Venturi simply called it a Purification.Tietze-Conrat insisted that one subject only was being portrayed,namely,the Presentation. Garavaglia asserted that it was self-evidently The Circumcision.Camesasca also calls it The Circumcision.It is interesting to note that Lightbown refers to the panel as The Circumcision in the text,but then as The Circumcision and Presentation of Christ and the Purification of The Virgin in the catalogue!

130.Aurenhammer,H;Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie, Vol.I,Vienna,1959-67,p.355.

131.Ringbom,S;"Icon to Narrative:The Rise of the Dramatic close-up in Fifteenth Century devotional Painting",Acta Academiae Aboensis,ser.A,Vol.31,No.2,Äbo,1965,p.79,n.5.

132.Greenstein,1984,p.65.

133.The Concept of the *Figura*,and its essential role in the interpretation of Biblical and historical events is thoroughly covered in the following works; Harbison,E.H.;Christianity and History, Princeton,1964, passim.Lowith,K;Meaning in History,Chicago,1949,1962, pp.1-19,145-202.Danielou,J;"The Concept of History in the Christian Tradition",Journal of Religion,30,1950, pp.171-79.De Lubac,H;Exégèse Mediévale:Les Quatre Sens de l'Ecriture,2 Parts (in 4 Vols),Paris,1959;Part 1, Vol.2, pp.425-87.Mommsen,T.E.;"St.Augustine and the Christian Idea of Progress:The background to the City of God", Journal of the History of Ideas,12,1951,pp.346-74. Smalley,B;The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages, Notre-Dame,Indiana,1952,1978,passim,but esp.pp.1,8-9, 300-02. MacQueen,J;"Allegory", Critical Idiom, 14, London,1970,pp.18-58.Auerbach,E(Tr.R.Manheim);Scenes from the Drama of European Literature:Six Essays, New York, 1959,pp.11-76,234-35,n.40.

134.Malachi,Ch.3,v.1-3,Biblia Sacra juxta Vulgatam Clementinam.Nova Editio.Eds.A.Collunga,L.Turrado,7th ed.,Madrid,1985,p.914.Haimo of Halberstadt;"Ennaratio in Malachiam prophetam",J-P.Migne (Ed) Patrologia Cursus Completus Accurante J-P Migne, Ser.I,II,(Latina), Paris, 1844-64;221 Vols.(Migne,1844-64). Vol.CXVII,Col.288.

St.Jerome;"Commentariorum in Malachiam prophetam ad Minerviam et Alexandriam",Migne,1844-64,Vol.XXV,Col.1568.
135.Luke,Ch.2,v.21-24;25-35,36-39; Colunga,Turrado, Ed.cit.,1985,p.1013.Greenstein,1984,pp.91-93. Lightbown,1986,pp.91-93,413,makes no attempt to re-assess in detail the existing scholarship on Mantegna's Circumcision of Christ.
136.Luke,Ch.2v.21-22;Colunga,Turrado, Ed.cit., 1985, p.1013.Greenstein,1984,p.72.Shorr,D.C.;"The Iconographic Development of the Presentation in the Temple",Art Bulletin,Vol.XXVIII,Washington,Providence,1946,pp.17-35. Pseudo Bonaventura;Meditations on the Life of Christ, Ed.and Trans.I.Ragusa,R.B.Green,Princeton,1961,pp.56-65. Schiller,G (Tr.J.Seligman);Iconography of Christian Art,Vol.1,Greenwich,Connecticut,1971,pp.90-94. Schmitt,D;Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte, Vol.3,Stuttgart,1954,Cols.1057-1076. Hatfield,R;Botticelli's Uffizi Adoration:A Study in Pictorial Content,Princeton,1976,pp.35-40,45-46.
137.Greenstein,1984,pp.1-18.Cicero(Marcus Tullius Ciceronius);De Legibus(Tr.C.W.Keyes),28 Vols.Loeb Classical Library,Harvard;Vol.XVI,1977,("De Republica"."De Legibus") Book I;2,3,5,9.De Oratore (Tr.E.W.Sutton) Books I,II;(Tr.H.Rackham) Book III.2 Vols.Loeb Classical Library,1952.Book II,9,11,12,15,36, 44-48,52-54,62,63.De Inventione(Tr.H.M.Hubbell)("De Inventione"."De optimo genere oratorum"."Topica")Loeb Classical Library,1952.Book I,19,27.Orator (Tr.H.M.Hubbell) ("Brutus Orator") Loeb Classical Library,1952.Book XI,37.Press,G.A.;The Development of the Idea of History in Antiquity.Ph.D Thesis,Univ.of California,San Diego,1974,pp.19-38.Collingwood,R.G.;The Idea of History.Oxford,1946,1956.New York,1956,pp.14-45. Streuver,N.S.;The Language of History in the Renaissance: Rhetoric and Historical Consciousness in Florentine Humanism.Princeton,1970,pp.5-27. Butterfield,H.;Watson,A(Ed.and Intro.);The Origins of History,London,1981,pp.118-37.Holborn,H.;"Greek and Modern Concepts of History",Journal of the History of Ideas,Vol.10,1949,pp.3-13.
138.Greenstein,1984,pp.5-21.Collingwood,1946,1956, pp.20-21,46-58.Butterfield,1981,pp.158-84. Harbison,1964,passim.Lowith,1949,1962,pp.1-19,145-207. Danielou,1950,pp.171-79.De Lubac,1959,Part 1, Vol.II, pp.425-87.Mommsen,1951,pp.346-74. Smalley,1952,1978, pp.i,8-9,300-02.MacQueen,1970,pp.18-58. .
139.Greenstein,1984,pp.9-17.De Lubac,1959,Pt.1,Vol.2, pp.428,429,432,434-36,439-441.Hugh of St.Victor;"De scripturis et scriptoribus sacris",III,Migne,1844-64, Vol.CLXXV,,Col.12."Didascalion",VI,ii,("De arca Noe morali",I,i),Migne,1844-64,Vol.CLXXVI, Col.621. Taylor,J;(Ed.and Tr.);The Didascalion of Hugh of St.Victor:A Medieval Guide to the Arts,New York,1961, p.223,n.9.Smalley,1952,1978,pp.5,90-92,300-02. Green,W.M.,(Ed.);"Hugh of St.Victor,De Tribus Maximis Circumstantiis Gestorum",Speculum,18,1943, p.491. Auerbach,1959,pp.11-36,234-35,n.40.Danielou,1950, pp.171-79.Harbison,1964,passim.Lowith,1949,1962, pp.1-19,145-207.Stone,D;The Holy Communion (Oxford Library of Practical Theology),London,New York,1904,

pp.75-132.Paschasius Radbertus;"Liber de Corpore et Sanguine Domini",Migne,1844-64,Vol.CXX,Cols.1255-1350. St.Thomas Aquinas (Ed.and Tr.Blackfriars); Summa Theologiae, London,1964,I,1,1-10.St.Gregory the Great;"Moralia",XX,1,Migne,1844-64,Vol.LXXVI,Col.135. 140.Greenstein,1984,p.9.De Lubac,1959,Pt.1,Vol.2, pp.425-87.Smalley,1952,1978,passim,but esp.pp.1, 8-9. MacQueen,1970,pp.18-58.
141.Dante (Dante Alighieri), Dantis Alighieri Epistolae, The Letters of Dante (Ed.and tr.P.Toynbee) Oxford,1920, 1966; Epistola X;7,8.The Divine Comedy (Tr.and Commentary,C.S.Singleton),3 Vols.Oxford,1970-73,1975. Vol.2,"Purgatory",X,lines 29-98;Vol.3,"Paradise",XX,lines 43-48,106-117.Charity,A.P.;Events and their Afterlife:The Dialectics of Christian Typology in The Bible and Dante. Cambridge,1966,passim.
142.Alberti,eds.cit.,1972,p.79;1991,p.75(Para.40).
143.Ibid.pp.73,79-106;pp.71,75-96.(Paras.35,40-42,44, 46-49,53-62).
144.Ibid.pp.67-77;pp.64-75.(Paras.30-39).
145.Ibid.pp.81-85;pp.76-80.(Paras 41-44).
146.See footnotes 11 and 12.
147.De Lubac,1959,Vol.1,Pt.2,p.429.
148.Greenstein,1984,pp.65-66.Ringbom,1965,p.87.St.Bernard of Clairvaux;"De Mariae purificatione et Christ circumcisione,sermo LI",Migne,1844-64,Vol.LXXXIII, Cols.673-74.Greenstein is correct to warn the reader about Ringbom's view.Ringbom fails to make it clear as to why a twelfth century sermon should have inspired Mantegna to devise a new iconography in the fifteenth.
149.Leviticus,Ch.12,v.2-8;Collunga,Turrado,Ed.Cit.,1985, p.89.
150.Exodus,Ch.13,v.1-2,12-13;Ibid,1985,pp.55-56.
151.Greenstein,1984,pp.69-71.
152.Luke,Ch.2,v.21-
24;Collunga,Turrado,ed.cit.,1985,p.1013.
153.Greenstein,1984,p.70.
154.Luke,Ch.2,v.21;Collunga,Turrado,Ed.Cit.p.1013. Greenstein,1984,pp.75-76.Bede;"In Lucae evangelium expositio,Liber I",Migne,1844-64,Vol.XLII,Cols.337 C-D. St.Augustine;"Quaestiones veteris et novis testamentii", Appendix,question XXIX, Migne,1844-64, Vol.XXV,Col.2232. Jacopo da Voragine;ed.cit.,Part I,pp.132-47.
155.Roli,R;"Un dossale di Ottaviano Nelli",Arte antica e moderna,Vol.8,No.30,1965,pp.165-68.Nelli's panel,painted in 1410,depicts the Circumcision in a church.It is being performed in the presence of the Virgin Mary and a large congregation.
156.Greenstein,1984,pp.76-77.Schiller,1974,Vol.1, pp.88-90. Reau.L;Iconographie de l'art chrétien,3 Vols., Paris,1955-59,Vol.2,Part 2,1957,pp.256-60.
157.Cennini,ed.cit.,1933,1954,1960,p.1.
158.Alberti,eds.cit.,1972,p.37,1991,p.37(Para.2).
159.Ibid.,1972,pp.95-97;1991,pp.88-98(Para.53).
160.Luke,Ch.2,v.25-35,Collunga,Turrado,Ed.Cit.,1985, p.1013.
161.Lucian (Tr.A.H.Harmon);8 Vols.Loeb Classical Library, New York,London,1913-62;Vol.I,1913,pp.365-67. Alberti,Eds.Cit.,1972,pp.95-97,1991,pp.88-89(Para.53).

162.Lightbown,1986,pp.486-87.Cast,D;The Calumny of Apelles:A Study in the Humanist Tradition.Yale Publications in the History of Art,28;1981,pp.32-39, 45,55-56,58-64,60,66,69,74,148-49,179,199-200,230-31. Massing,J.M.:Du Texte à l'Image.La Calomnie d'Apelle et son Iconographie,Strassburg,1990,pp.171-96.
163.Lucian,Ed.Cit.,p.367.Alberti,Eds,Cit.,1972,pp.95-97, 1991,pp.88-89 (Para 53).
164.Greenstein,1984,pp.84-85.
165.Lucian,Ed.Cit.,pp.365-67.Alberti,Eds.Cit.,1972, pp.95-97.1991,pp.88-89 (Para 53).
166.Lucian,Ed.Cit.pp.365-67.Alberti,1972,pp.95-97,1991, pp.88-89 (Para 53).
167.Lucian,Ed.Cit.,p.367.Alberti,Eds.Cit.,1972,pp.95-97, 1991,pp.88-89 (Para 53).
168.Greenstein,1984,p.86.
169.Kemp,M.J.;"From Mimesis to Fantasia:The Quattrocento Vocabulary of Creation,Inspiration and Genius in the Visual Arts",Viator,Vol.8,1977,pp.347-88.Idem;"Virtuous artists and virtuous art",Decorum in Renaissance Narrative Art.Papers Delivered at the Annual Conference of the Association of Art Historians,London,April,1991. (Eds.F.Ames-Lewis,A.Bednarek),London,1992,pp.15-23 (esp.p.19). Francesco II Gonzaga conferred special benefits on Mantegna because of his *ingenii* or talents. Mantegna had achieved a status equal to the poets and orators of antiquity. Alberti (Eds.Cit.1972,pp.61-65, 95-97, 1991, pp.61-63, 87-89 (Paras.26-28,51-55.) had transferred the formula which equated the style of the work of the artist with the moral character of the worker from the Stoics'writings on rhetoric to the theory of painting.Chambers,D.S.(with J.Martineau and R.Signorini); "Mantegna and the Men of Letters",Andrea Mantegna,1992, pp.8-32.
170.Hartt,F;"Mantegna's Madonna of the Rocks",Gazette des Beaux-Arts..ser.6,Vol.XL,Paris,1952,pp.329-42. Lightbown,1986,pp.159,435-36.Tietze-Conrat,1955, pp.24,182.Neither Lightbown (1986) nor Tietze-Conrat (1955) accept Hartt's interpretation of the symbolic significance of the motifs of the landscape.In view of the figural significance of Biblical *historia* and its skilful visual interpretation by Mantegna,this verdict seems surprising,even when allowance is made for Hartt having over-extended his argument.
171.Hartt.1952,pp.332-33.Hrabanus Maurus,Migne,1844-64, Vol.CXII,Cols.849-1088.
172.Hartt,1952,p.332.
173.Kristeller,1901,p.22.I am grateful to Mr.R.W. Sanderson,of the Geological Museum,South Kensington, London,for information about the structure and appearance of Monte Bolca.
174.Hartt,1952,p.332-33.
175.Ibid.,p.333 and n.12.
176.Ibid.,p.334 and n.17.
177.Cf.Firestone,G;"The Sleeping Christ-Child in Italian Renaissance Representations of the Madonna",Marsyas, Vol.II,1942,pp.43-62.
178.E.g.;The San Zeno Altarpiece (centre main panel);the Madonna and Child with Cherubim,Brera,Milan;the Trivulzio Madonna,Museo del Castello Sforzesco,Milan.

179.Hartt,1952,p.334 and n.16,17.
180.Ibid.,pp.336-38 and n.23,24.
181.Ibid.,n.24.
182.Ibid.,n.26,27.
183.Ibid.,p.338 and n.26,27.
184.Ibid.,pp.339-40 and n.31.
185.Ibid.,pp.332-33,339-40 and n.10,33.
186.Ibid.,p.340.
187.Ibid.,pp.339-40 and n. 29,31-33.
188.Ibid.,pp.338-39 and n.28-30.
189.Ibid.,pp.338-39 and n.28. Berliner,R;"Zur Sinnesdeutung der Ährenmadonna",Die Christliche Kunst, Vol.XXVI.Munich,1929-30,pp.97-112.
190.A.S.M.A.G.,BUSTA.2399,F.II.S.(Johann Stiber, Chancellor,to Barbara of Brandenburg,21st Dec.,1463,from Marmirolo);transcription from original document,

"Hoch geborne durchleuchtiste furstin genedicte ffrau.Mein willig unter demit driste sin ewern genaden alzeyt berytt Benedicte ffrau.Nach dem und in den besorglichen verlichen zeytten und leuffen auch suspette steten vo[n] den ich mit meyne genedictsten herrn Cardinale komen bin,mir ztu ewern genaden ztu komen nicht zymt.Ye doch schifflich den selben ewern genade ich mich demoliglich bevelle und dinstlich mich opfer.Benedigte Frau als meyn genedigster herrn Cardinals ewern genaden erzelen wist.Wye dy sache des bestimis und der probstey dtu Wyrzburg gelegen synd.Nemliche wye mey[n] genediger here[n] Mardigne Albrecht diss lang alles getreyde mit macht,als eyn procurator meyns genedigten herr[n] Cardinals eyn bracht hatt uber dij probstey gefasst wye wol keyn gerechtigheyt daran ist so ist solches newer gestheen das unsser heyliger vater der pabst verstes das er solcher probstey keyne andern den Meynch herrn Cardinals genade und das seyn genade dester serer dem pabst anligte.Benedige Frau so aber irzund meyn genedigter her[r]n Cardinal aus Rome ist und solcher sache nicht anligte hab ich gedacht ewer genade der zu er inderen wann solche probstey grosachtig und gutt ist auch nil adals und uyitterschafft hatt und usimd nicht wol misschen mocht so fleyss und auffschung der aussen gesthes und dem pabst von etlichen fur (letter damaged here)gestbyelten Worde wan vol,hoffte so dy mane genedigen hern C..(Cardinal?, letter damaged here)worde wan den drisser Bisthone von Wyrzburgth der sere..(letter damaged here)und krank ist abnig das mame genedigen her[r]n Cardinals durch hilff und dye gerechtkyt der herzogen von Sachssen das(?...letter damaged here)bistum bleyben gernlich und der d vom Capitell zu bisthone er welte wurde so er solche gerechtigkeyt der herzogen von Sachssen und auch macht der und ander fursten merchet vileyth gernlichs dye probsteyn von meyne hern Cardinal nane und seyne genade an eyntrage diss bistum volgen lysie also das durch dye probstey dye an das nurspar ist diss pestrum leychlicher kome.In den ewer genad pasi den meynsi her[r]n genade glegenheyt und bestes beriffen mact der selben ewer genade ich mich alzeyt beville und zu allen driste zu der pillikeyt mir willig und bereyt,dati Marmiroli XXI decembris hem [hiemis?].

Ewer genaden williger Johann Stiber

utterdeinger dyner. Can ere harbysohi
[Chancellor ?]
[Hohenzollern ?]."

191.Onians,J:Bearers of Meaning.The Classical Orders in Antiquity,the Middle Ages and the Renaissance,Princeton, 1988,pp.147-49.

Onians demonstrates convincingly the influence of Hrabanus Maurus on the architectural thinking of Alberti.The possibility remains that Mantegna could have had Hrabanus Maurus' Allegoriae in Sacram Scripturam brought to his notice by Alberti.

192.Lightbown,1986,pp.435-36.Cat.No.31.
Dates given by authors vary between 1450 and 1500. Lightbown accepts the traditional dating,1488-90, given by Vasari.

193.Garavaglia,Ed.Cit.,1971,pp.9-14.De Vecchi,P;Murray,P (Intro.);The Complete Paintings of Piero della Francesca (Classics of World Art),Milan,1967;English Ed.,London, 1970,pp.5-13.Paolucci,A;Piero della Francesca,Florence, 1989,pp.7-80.

194.Clark,1951,1969,pp.56-57.De Vecchi,Murray,Ed.Cit., 1970,pp.106-07.Paolucci,1989,pp.11,56,198 (and Plate on adjacent page).

195.Kristeller,(German Edition),1902,p.524,Dok.36.

196.Lightbown,1986,Colourplate XIV.

197.Ch.1.,pp.80-81.

198.Paolucci,1989,p.234 and Colourplates on pp.235-39.

199.Clark,1951.1969,pp.67-68.Paolucci,1989,p.234.

200.Lightbown,1986,pp.177-84;263,n.30,31,pp.70;256,n.24.

201.Lightbown.1986,pp.60-62;Colourplate II.Robertson,G; Giovanni Bellini,Oxford,1968,New York,1981,pp.2,16,33, 35,46,69,82.Plates XV,XVIb,XVIc.

202.Robertson,1968,1981,pp.33,35,46,69,72,82. Apart from the National Gallery (London) Madonna of The Meadow,the examples mentioned are,the Vincent Ferrer Polyptych (Venice,Chiesa di SS.Giovanni e Paolo..probably Studio of Bellini),the Pesaro Coronation of the Virgin,the Brera St.Mark preaching in Alexandria (unfinished by Gentile, completed by Giovanni in 1507).

203.Lightbown,1986,pp.76-77;256,n.38-43.

204.Ibid.Also Robertson.1968,1981,p.33.Robertson places the date of Bellini's version between 1456 and the early 1460s.

205.See Above,Footnote 90. Also,Goffen,R;Giovanni Bellini,New Haven,London,1989,pp.106-18.

206.Paolucci,1989,pp.25-27,108; Colourplates on pp.109-111.

207.Lightbown,1986,pp.435-36.

208.Arnheim,1974,pp.33,111.Kemp,1990,pp.41-3,Figs.68,69. Kubovy,1986,pp.44-45.

Mantegna treated pictorial space as a direct extension of physical (or actual) space.The *Oculus* of the *Camera Picta* is an example of what Arnheim terms "environmental orientation" as against the (again,his term) "retinal orientation" of (e.g.) Michelangelo's decorative scheme for the Sistine Chapel ceiling, where the pictorial space is totally independent,in its manner of projection. from that of the Chapel. Both examples point the way to what would be happening in the Baroque churches of the Seventeenth Century, where the physical

presence of the buildings has become part of the pictorial composition.
209.Toesca,P;La Pittura e la miniatura nella Lombardia dai più antichi monumenti alla metà del quattrocento, Milan,1912,Turin,1966,pp.135-71.
210.Burns,N.T.;Reagan,C;Concepts of the Hero in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance,Papers of the 4th and 5th Annual Conferences of the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies,State University of New York at Binghampton;2nd-3rd May,1970,1st-2nd May,1971;New York, 1975,United Kingdom,1976,passim.
211.Pius II:Commentarii(Pii Secundi Pont.Max.Commentarii Rerum memorabilium,quae temporibus suis contigerunt.) Lib.II,p.51;transcribed by Johannes Gobellinus,1464;Ed.by Archbishop Francisco Bandino-Piccolomineo,Siena,1584, Frankfurt,1614;in C.M.Ady,Pius II (Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini) The Humanist Pope,London,1913,p.191. Mitchell,R.J.;The Laurels and the Tiara.Pope Pius II, 1458-1464,London,1962,pp.193-95.
212.Signorini,R:Opus Hoc Tenue.La camera dipinta di Andrea Mantegna. Lettura,storica, iconografica, iconologica, Mantua, 1985,passim. Martindale,A.H.R.; "Painting for Pleasure,some lost Fifteenth Century Secular Decorations of Northern Italy",in,The Vanishing Past:Studies of Mediaeval Art,Liturgy and Metrology presented to Christopher Hohler;Eds.A.H.R. Martindale, A.Borg; B.A.R.International Series,III,1981,pp.109-31. Welch,E.S.;"Painting the fifteenth-century Palace", Mantegna,1992,pp.84-92.(Indexed as "Painting the Quattrocento palace".)
213.Martindale,1981,p.119.
214.Martindale,1981,p.119.
215.Martindale,1981,p.121.
216.Martindale,1979,pp.42-46,91.
217.Lightbown,1986,p.142.
218.Martindale,1979,p.77.
219.Lightbown,1986,pp.147-51.
220.Martindale,1979,pp.31-34. Paccagnini,G; Figlioli, M ; Pisanello alla corte dei Gonzaga (Exh.Cat.), Mantua, 1972,pp.17-21.Figs.1-6. Cottafavi,C;"Il Palazzo del Capitano",Bollettino d'Arte,XXV,1931-32,p.377.Vickers,M; "The intended setting of Mantegna's Triumph of Caesar, Battle of the Sea-Gods and Bacchanals",Burlington Magazine,Vol.CXX,London, 1978, p.365. The *Corridoio* was again subdivided into rooms in 1773.Vickers disagrees with Martindale; his views are similar to Lightbown's.
221.Martindale,1979,pp.37-42.
222.Lightbown,1986,p.147.
223.Martindale,1979,pp.59-60.
224.Ibid.,pp.58-59.
225.Ibid.,pp.56-74,133-61.Hope,C.:"The Triumphs of Caesar".Andrea Mantegna,1992,pp.350-94.(Esp.pp.65-80.)
226.Lightbown,1986,pp.210-18.
227.See above,footnotes 38,39.
228.Alberti.Eds.Cit.,1972,pp.86-89 and n.51-53;1991, pp.81-3,100.Boorsch,S.:"Classical and Mythological Themes".Andrea Mantegna,1992,pp.274-98.Idem (with D.Eksergjian and K.Christiansen) "The Paintings in Grisaille",Andrea Mantegna,1992,pp.394-418 (esp.412-16,Cat.135).

229.Lightbown,1986,pp.217-18.
230.Ibid.,pp.213-18.
231.Ibid.,p.213.
232.Smith,A;Second Sight. Mantegna: Samson and Delilah. Degas:Peach Scene (Bains de Mer.Petite Fille peignée par sa Bonne). Booklet for Exhibition, National Gallery, London.25th Nov.,1981-10th Jan.,1982, pp.5,10-12.
It must be said that Smith's translation of the Latin phrase,*Foemina diabolo tribus assibus est mala peior*,as,"Woman is evil,three times worse than the devil",quite misses the the point of the stinging irony of the words. A more accurate translation (commensurate with Mantegna's sardonic humour) would be,"A bad woman is worse than the devil by three farthings". Cf.Lightbown.1986,p.449,Cat.50.
233.Coniglio,G;I Gonzaga,Milan,1967,Varese,1987, pp.101-249. Cattafesta,M: Mantovastoria.Dalle palefitte ai tempi nostri,Mantua,1974,1984,pp.169-84. Mozzarelli,C:Mantova e i Gonzaga dal 1382 al 1707,Turin, 1987,pp.37-49.
234.Lightbown.1986,p.215.
235.Ibid.,pp.214-15.
236.Ibid.,pp.214-15.
237.Ibid.,pp.216;267,n.19.
238.Ibid.,pp.216;267,n.20.
239.Ibid.,pp.216;452,Cat.59.
240.Ibid.,pp.217;452,Cat.57.
241.Ibid.,p.217.
242.Ibid.,pp.218;268,n.24.
243.Ibid.,pp.217;267,n.21.
244.Ibid.,pp.217;267,n.21.
245.Ibid.,pp.216;452,Cat.57.
246.A.S.M.A.G.,Raccolta d'Autografi;BUSTA 7(Serie Autografi,Cassetta N.7)N.164;(Letter of Francesco Mantegna to Francesco II Gonzaga,Mantua,15th Sept.,1506),transcription from original document,
"Illu[Illustrissi]me et Ex[cellentissim]e D[omine]D[omine]mj Benefactor Observandissi[m]e,La S[ignore]V[ostra]mj perdonj se piu presto no[n] ho scripto et facto Intendere,a q[ue]lla la morte de[l] mio patre,che[e] fu domenica passata a hore diecenove,....."
247.A.S.M.A.G.,Raccolta d'Autografi;BUSTA 7(Serie Autografi,Cassetta N.7(N.26,Lettere,1463-1506; Pittori,N.86-146).N.105.(Andrea Mantegna to the *Marchese*,Lodovico II Gonzaga,Mantua,22nd Sept., 1475),transcription from original document,
"-et Ex[cellentissim]o.S[ignore].mio dapoi la debita Ricomandatione aviso La.I.[Illustrissima]S[ignore].vostra chome una diquesto ("note" inserted here) mi fu rubato delbruolo mio abascoldo forsi 500 pomi e per chedognj di la qual che sa op[er] pezo dila inguria che del dan[n]o et no[n] stimo che sia stato altri che unfradelo de francesco aliprando che e bastardo et u[n] suo famiglio chesi chiama el soldato liqualj sono dipesima condicione chome si puo sapere et sono stati cho[che lo] francesco co[n] le arme didi edinote asperandomj io nolio voluto andar p[er] no[n] far costione et E.[xcellent]ia aspeta[n]do el famose dila rasone el quale co[n] gran faticha o potuto obtenere digracia dico duse le mie une acasa che sa me[sser] beltramino che ancor luj se ha

fatichо no[n] pocho delj altri insulti eparole disoneste no[n] poria provare serio p[er] li lanosenti propri liqualj seco[n]do larasone nosido credere maio aviso bene la Ex[cell ent]ia vostra chio no[n]mi maraviglio che dichano male dime tuti duo fratelj Cioe me[sser] bonamente e francesco qua[n]do dila I[llustrissima] S[ignore] vostra ta[n]to ne a[n]no dito qua[n]to falsamente sene puo dire Equesto no[n] dichoza p[er] es[s]er achusatore p[er] che io chredo che la E[x]c[e!lent]ia vostra altre volte ne abia("ne abia" repeated,and crossed-out here)inteso ma la su[m]ma bonta diquela chome quelo no[n] puo es[s]er dalor ofeso no[n] chusa simel ciaze nono altruj Ricovere seno[n] ala I[llustrissima] S[ignore] vostra pregando quela che mi voglia far spazare.Ala quale humilmente mi Racoma[n]do mant[ua]e d[ie] 22 Septembri[s] 1475.

Andrea ma[n]tenga."

248.See below,footnote 251.
249.Lightbown,1986,p.154.Kristeller,1902,p.545,Dok.101.
250.Ibid.,p.158.
251.Martindale.U.E.A.,1974.

The original text is here given (A.S.M.A.G.,Raccolta d'Autografi; BUSTA 7 (Serie Autografi,Cassetta N.7)N.26 (Lettere,1463-1506;Pittori,N.86-146)N.123. (Andrea Mantegna to the *Marchese*,Francesco II Gonzaga;Rome,15th June,1489.);the writer is grateful to the Direttore of the Archivio di Stato di Mantova for allowing him a photocopy of the original,which is now in a decayed and fragile state,and from which this extract and transcription has been made,

"-----El fratello del turco e qui nel palazo del n[ost]ro.S[ignore],molto ben guardato.El n[ost]ro S[ignore]gli da spassi assai de molte rasone : cioe, Cacie:soni:Canti;et similis,spesso fiate viene amanzare qui nel palazo novo dove io dipingo:Et seco[n]do barbaro boni modi tiene Ha una certa maiesta sup[er]ba:et mai si Cava di Capo berretta al papa perche no[n] la:In modo ch[e] meno niuno ad lui si Cava Capu Zo:Manza cinque fiate el giorno,et dorme altro tanto,bene Ag[itur].....In anti pasto Come Zucaro dento p[er] la simia:.....Ha un ochio che tra di stombechina:spesse volte el tien serrato:et quando lapre,ha quasi del fra rafaele,fa molto del gran maestro no[n] havendo mai La:Ha et un andatura da alionphanto:Li soi molto lo Comme[n]da[n]o,et dicono che In specialita sta benissimo acavallo:questo ess[er] poteria:mai no[n] lo ho veduto,ne staffigiar,ne far prova niuna:Crudellissimo homo,e:et ha amazato da quatro homini.....:Un di q..sti(questi?; letter damaged here)giorni dotto di molti pugni ad un suo Interprete,In modo ch[e]l bisognorono portare ad fiume acio che potessi resumere le forze perse:Credessi che baco lo visiti spesse fiate:In summa temuto e da li soi:Fa poco Conti dogni Cosa come Colui che no[n] Intendere meno ha Juditio,La vita sua,e al modo suo;Dorme vestite.Da audientia a sedere Come stanno li sarti Cum gambis Incrosatis:Porta in Capo trenta millia Canne di tela lodesana:Un paro di Calze Cossi large porta che gli atteggia p[er] dentro,et no[n] e veduto,et tota[m] facit

stupire brigata[m].Come io el veda subito lo mando dessignato alla ex[c]ellentia V[ostra] el manderia al p[rese]nte:no[n] lo ho ancora ben accolto:per ch[e] quando fa un sguardo q[ua]n[do] un altro proprie da Innamorato In modo ch[e] io no l posso pigliare In memoria:In suma ha un viso terribile Maxime q[ua]n[do] baco lo visita:....."

CHAPTER 3.
THE PARNASSUS AND THE TRIUMPH OF VIRTUE: STATES OF MIND AND WAYS OF READING.

(a). Historiographical survey and the fate of the pagan gods.

It was six men of Indostan
To learning much inclined,
Who went to see the Elephant
(Though all of them were blind),
That each by observation
Might satisfy his mind.

The *First* approached the Elephant,
And happening to fall
Against his broad and sturdy side,
At once began to bawl,
"God bless me! but the Elephant
Is very like a wall!"

The *Second*, feeling of the tusk,
Cried, "Ho!, what have we here
So very round and smooth and sharp?
To me 'tis mighty clear
This wonder of an Elephant
Is very like a spear!"

The *Third* approached the animal,
And happening to take
The squirming trunk within his hands,
Thus boldly up and spake,
"I see", quoth he, "the Elephant
Is very like a snake!"

The *Fourth* reached out an eager hand,
And felt about the knee.
"What most this wondrous beast is like
Is mighty plain", quoth he;
" 'Tis clear enough the Elephant
Is very like a tree!"

The *Fifth*, who chanced to touch the ear,
Said, "E'en the blindest man
Can tell what this resembles most;
Deny the fact who can,
This marvel of an Elephant
Is very like a fan!"

The *Sixth* no sooner had begun
About the beast to grope,
Than, seizing on the swinging tail
That fell within his scope,
"I see", quoth he, "the Elephant
Is very like a rope!"

And so these men of Indostan
Disputed loud and long,
Each in his own opinion
Exceeding stiff and strong,
Though each was partly in the right,
And all were in the wrong!

Moral:

So oft in theologic wars,the disputants,I ween,
Rail on in utter ignorance of what each other Mean,
And prate about an Elephant not one of them has Seen.

John Godfrey Saxe (b.1816-d.1887) wrote the above poem,The Blind Men and The Elephant (A Hindoo Fable),as a warning about the pitfalls of dogmatic theology that could so easily degenerate into bigotry.[1] The poem has a distinctly Kiplingesque flavour about it in the way in which sound wisdom is couched in seemingly trite terms. From the ontological and epistemological standpoints the lesson is clear.The Hindu sages were indeed in trouble: wall, spear, snake, tree,fan and rope;all of these qualities could be said to be authentically analogous to a given specific physical property of an elephant. However,lacking the crucial sense of sight,the six Hindus had no sound and authentic means of knowing the precise way in which all of these physical qualities were articulated to form an elephant.There was no means of exercising that essential simultaniety of perception which would have shown them that their impressions were at best incomplete.Touch was an inadequate perceptive tool compared to sight in this exercise.Moreover,the Hindu sages' individual lack of a perceptive awareness of the status of the evidence that each of them had and their

equally dogmatic certainty of the authenticity of their individual standpoints regarding the nature of an elephant led them to assert hopelessly tendentious views about the animal.[2] The particular and specific had become all-embracing and transcendent.One need hardly add that the fact that the elephant is the largest extant land animal makes the lesson doubly humbling;if a crucial investigative tool is lacking or is not seen as being important or relevant,the true nature of even the most conspicuous or obvious phenomenon will escape attention and recognition.[3]

The Renaissance can often seem to take on the character or nature not so much of an elephant as of a chameleon or even a snark.Surviving evidence,of whatever nature it may be,can be remarkably compliant in the face of expectation or perception.The very quality of the cultural legacy of the Renaissance makes this inevitable as one is dealing with the confluence of what is frequently a bewilderingly diverse array of potential influences.The Renaissance was a long period of transition during which time Europe saw her transformation from the mediaeval to the modern world. European culture,institutions,politics and economics all underwent significant changes of kind or of degree.

Periods of transition are always particularly attractive subjects for study.The greater intensity of the process of change inherent in such times often leaves behind a richer witness,in terms of culture and institutions,of its process.It is this very richness which is as problematic as it is rewarding.Ideally,one

should bring to bear upon it a simultaniety of perception that would perform due justice to every aspect of its manifestation.However,the relevant evidence (cultural and institutional) has not survived to the same degree.This is especially so in the case of primary documentary material.Not only this but also the sheer overall task of devoting the ideal amount of time to every nominal aspect of the historical process of the Renaissance could render such an enterprise impracticable.It is fortunate that a clearly-defined area and objective of study and research make it possible to use a certain amount of compromise.

Formal theories explain as much about their devisers as they do about the issues and problems which provoked them.In this regard it is especially important to examine the approach and achievements of Aby Warburg (b.1866-d.1929) as these were crucial in shaping the course of the discipline of art-history,both in northern Europe and in North America.[4]

The nineteenth century had seen vast strides made in the field of scientific discovery and its associated experimental methods.For Warburg and his generation (and his immediate intellectual successors) the authority and attraction of the epistemological rigour of the natural sciences and of philosophy was overwhelming.Here was the answer to the ever-present necessity for description and explanation.Models of thought and action which were seen to be thoroughly objective in method and results could now be applied to the study of the history of art.It is debatable as to

whether or not Warburg or his immediate circle would have thought that artistic endeavours,in their conception,execution and influence,were as amenable to quantification as the subjects,methods and results dealt with and presented by the natural sciences and philosophy.Nevertheless,one may sense the satisfaction that they must have felt at having in their hands a method of assessing the relevant evidence consistently and systematically against the datum of perceived objectivity.

Central and crucial to the intellectual development of the young Warburg was an idea of human psychological and spiritual progress which had developed from the investigations of Darwin concerning Man's evolutionary origins and development,coupled with the influence of the philosophical work of Hegel.[5] This idea of psychological and spiritual progress was to reach Warburg through the work of Carl Justi (b.1832-d.1912),August Schmarzow (b.1853-d.1936),Karl Lamprecht (b.1856-d.1915) and Hermann Usener (b.1834-d.1905).[6] Warburg came into contact with these scholars soon after entering the University of Bonn in 1886 to read art-history and classical archaeology under the tutelage of Carl Justi.It was August Schmarzow,an art historian from Breslau,who saw Warburg as a promising and worthy candidate for the German Institute for the History of Art that he proposed to establish at Florence.[7] In the Autumn of 1888,Warburg was one of eight students (from various universities) whom Schmarzow took with him to Florence in order to study

Masaccio and Italian sculpture.[8] This period of study supplemented and consolidated the influence of Justi,and also that of Lamprecht (an historian) and of Usener (a scholar of classics who lectured at Bonn on classical mythology).[9]

The work of all these scholars was the pursuit and exercise of *Kulturwissenschaft*,that is to say,a science of culture which offered a consistent and objective explanation of cultural progress based on the results gained from psychological research.[10] Especially influential in this regard were Darwin's theories concerning Man's evolution,in particular,his emotional growth and its expression through several long ages.[11] Lamprecht,with his vast,grandiose and encyclopaedic vision,saw Man's cultural evolution as an ever richer interplay of associative experiences within the consciousness of the succeeding ages.[12] Usener concerned himself with the origins of mythological thinking and especially with what he saw as those elementary and unconscious mental processes which could provide an explanation for the tendency of ancient peoples (in particular the Greeks and the Romans) to personify the forces of nature.[13] Justi was markedly different from Lamprecht and Usener in that although he shared their interest in the psychological basis for what was seen by them as Man's cultural evolution and its expression he did not aim at a vast impersonal view of it.Rather it was that Justi saw culture in a concrete way,as the interaction of individual people in individual circles.He wished to illuminate individual

lives in individual situations.[14]

The central theme to the work of Schmarzow, Lamprecht, Usener and Justi was the evolutionary growth (as they saw it) of that vital element in Man's faculties:the act of withdrawing from the immediate experience and/or stimulus in order to reflect upon it.[15] Both Warburg and Schmarzow were particularly concerned with the problems raised by the study of gesture and expression.[16] Schmarzow's evolutionist approach to the issue of aesthetics led him to define art as an attempt by Mankind,through the faculties and process of creation,to come to terms with the world in which he found himself.[17] As words are a synthesis of gesture and sound,these elements must have preceded language.The image is an abstraction from objects and space,and is as derivative in its character as the word.[18] In their origin,both gesture and action were as one:the more primitive the emotional reaction,the more will the whole body take part in expressive movements.As Man developed,his expressive act gradually affected less and less of his body,finally being confined to the face.[19] In Man's relationship with his environment there was a similar range of development, from the original act of gripping an object to the restraint displayed by contemplation.In further support of his theories Schmarzow asserted that since visual and acoustic stimuli acted on the person from a distance,they offered the possibility of withdrawing from immediate contact with objects and their impact and of looking at the material world while disregarding

details.[20] This act of withdrawal and contemplation from a distance alone could initiate the superior proceses of mental activities.[21] Although this particular view was not fully set out in print before 1907,it is reasonable to suppose that the intellectual roots of this idea reach to when Warburg was working with Schmarzow and would thus have been influential.[22]

This possibility of withdrawing,of creating mental distance,was eventually termed by Warburg *Denkraum der Besonnenheit*.For Warburg it meant that space for reflective thought (or contemplation),that vital interval between stimulus and action which should lead to serenity and poise.[23] It was the exact opposite of *Denkraumverlust*,that is to say,that loss (or diminution) of the faculty of reflective thought which for Warburg had manifested itself in Mediaeval corruptions (as he saw it) of the culture of the ancient classical world.[24]

Warburg had formed this idea of polarity in Man's cultural history mainly from his familiarity with astrology.[25] An individual planet,such as Mercury,was neither good nor bad in itself but owed its contrasting characteristics to an observable position within the horoscope.[26] The gradual re-emergence of antique motifs during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance had manifested itself in terms of this polarity.Warburg chose to characterize this process with the metaphor of *Mneme* as a result of the influence of the work of Richard Semon on memory.[27]

Semon had defined the language of gesture (i.e. as

it had developed in antique sculpture) as a collection of "mnemic engrams" or "dynamograms" which had the power to exert an influence or spell on succeeding generations of artists.[28] These "mnemic engrams" or "dynamograms" did so for the very reason that they signified those primitive urges from which Darwin had derived and divined his concepts of the development of expressive movement.The ability to distance oneself from and dominate the latent energy of these urges will result in those very urges providing the means to achieve that precious space for reflection (*Denkraum der Besonnenheit*);anyone who allows these energies to dominate him will only achieve an empty rhetoric (*Denkraumverlust*).[29] Hence,Warburg saw visual motifs as symbols,neutral in themselves,which had a polarity of meaning in accordance with the imagination of a particular age.This imagination,in its turn,was governed and characterized by the degree of *Denkraum der Besonnenheit* or *Denkraumverlust* being exercised by the people of that age.[30]

This approach would see its rapid development and maturation in the doctoral dissertation that Warburg undertook at Strassburg during the years 1888-91.The subject was Botticelli's use of literary and visual source-material in the Primavera and in the Birth of Venus.[31] In his dissertation,Warburg revealed his acute awareness of the analogy between literary and visual criticism,seeing both processes as arising out of the same social and cultural context.Thus it was that Warburg elucidated and enunciated the enabling

conditions for the creation of the Birth of Venus and the Primavera,namely,the intellectual seed of Alberti sown in the Ovidian soil of the Medicean cultural circle,and seeing the growth and realization of this culture in the literary and visual arts of Poliziano and Botticelli,finally,both arts becoming grafted together in the two paintings.

From 1897 to his death in 1929,Warburg devoted himself to building up his library at Hamburg and to the elaboration of his ideas on the art and the state of mind manifested in the Italian Renaissance.[32] There was a marked emphasis on the transformation of mythological and astrological imagery.The last five years of his life were spent on working on a synthesis of all of his theories.The synthesis was to take the form of a vast "picture-atlas" which would reveal the exact nature of the positive and negative effects of the images and motifs of the antique world expressed during certain periods in Man's subsequent cultural history.This main theme would have as its counterpoint the history of astrology and astronomy.[33] The project was never realized;Warburg died before it could be started in earnest.

The theme of Warburg's work never changed:*Mneme* became *Mnemosyne*,the awakening of the pagan gods during the period of the Renaissance in Europe,seen as the transformation of energy into expressive values,and this process was inextricably linked to the creating of the space for reflection as an essential function of culture.[34] This emphasis by Warburg on Man's capacity

for reflective thought was that crucial aspect of his work that was to provoke and inspire his intellectual successors for virtually the next half-century following his death.

The effect of Warburg's work and achievement was the questioning of Burckhardt's image of Renaissance Man.[35] It may have been traumatic for anyone who cared to digest the implications here,but Warburg had appreciated to a greater extent than anyone hitherto the degree to which the whole cultural process of the Italian Renaissance represented the "divided self" of European civilization.The Renaissance was now presented (in the manner of the change in the depiction of the pagan gods of classical antiquity) as a battle between superstition and reflection,with the latter seeing its spectacular triumph in the work of Raphael.[36]

The work of the philosopher Ernst Cassirer (b.1874-d.1945) was a crucially influential element in the endeavours of Erwin Panofsky (b.1892-d.1968) and of Edgar Wind (b.1900-d.1971).[37] Cassirer had lectured at Berlin University and then at Hamburg,where he was Professor of Philosophy.Wind had been an undergraduate at Berlin and was later supervised by Panofsky at Hamburg for his doctoral studies.The effect of Cassirer's work was to reinforce Warburg's emphasis on the importance of the growth of Man's capacity for reflective thought.Cassirer saw art,together with myth,religion and science,as the different steps taken by Man in his reflective interpretation of life.Philosophy,because it was the highest and most

comprehensive mode of reflection,was the intellectual discipline best suited to penetrating into their essential meaning.[38]

By drawing together the main strands of the theories of Warburg and Cassirer,Panofsky devised a thorough but somewhat complicated iconographical and iconological system for the interpretation of works of art.[39] Forms,motifs,images,stories and allegories were seen as systems of symbolical values-"symbolic forms"-that is to say,they were manifestations of the attitude of a nation,period, class, religion,or philosophical persuasion.[40] The interpretation of the meaning or content of these symbolical values is a process comprising four elements:the Object of interpretation, the Act of interpretation,the Equipment of interpretation and the Controlling Principle of interpretation.[41] Each of these elements was subject to three stages of analysis which were themselves progressively more reflective in quality.At all stages the Controlling Principle of interpretation is the history of tradition,which at the third stage consists of an insight into the manner in which (under varying historical conditions) "essential tendencies" of the human mind were expressed by specific themes and concepts (it was this very emphasis on the idea of the essential tendencies of the human mind that was to be rejected by Gombrich).[42] Thus one arrived at the intrinsic meaning or content (symbolical values) through iconographical interpretation (iconographical synthesis) by means of synthetic intuition.This

intuition took the form of a familiarity with the "essential tendencies" of the human mind,the synthetic intuition being conditioned by the interpreter's personal psychology and world-view.[43]

As far as Wind was concerned,symbols of any type or nature were only significant insofar as they could be part of an epistemological framework that dealt with art as a form of plastic philosophy.[44] Essentially speaking,Wind attempted a modification of Cassirer's philosophy of symbolic language by the addition of what he saw as an authentically scientific dimension.[45] This dimension had grown out of Wind's immense erudition in the field of Renaissance Humanist philosophy and literature,coupled with his study of British and American empirical and pragmatic philosophy.[46] The snag here is that although the *experimentum crucis* devised by Wind for the assessment of Renaissance works of art worked reasonably well for any composition which could be plausibly associated with Humanist culture,there was not always a clear distinction made between philosophical,perceptual,representational and technical issues.

History,philology and philosophy would continue to be the analytical basis for the work of Ernst Gombrich and other art-historians down to the present day.It is the synthetic element of their work that provides the interest here.Although there is at the moment no sign of an attempt to emulate the heroic panorama of Man's cultural history of the kind that was undertaken during the last century,one may see an endeavour to divine

and articulate a non-arbitrary approach to the interpretation of works of art.

In his writings concerning matters of the Renaissance,Gombrich displays an acute awareness of the tenacity and mutability of the influence of the visual cultural heritage of the antique world.[47] Artists of the Middle Ages were not averse to borrowing motifs from the classical world and adapting them to their own purposes.[48] For Gombrich,this borrowing was mere imitation,and it is this essential difference between imitation and assimilation in the treatment of antique motifs that Gombrich cites as indicating the manifestation of the true Renaissance in works of art.[49] As "eye-witness narrators" of the themes and subjects that they were commissioned to depict,the artists of the Renaissance became rapidly ever more concerned about the distribution of animate and inanimate bodies in space.They had been required to take,and had taken,a crucial step:that of forsaking a slavish attention to detail in favour of the discerning of that vital general principle displayed in antique works of art;the illusion of movement and life.[50]

Gombrich's understanding of the nature of the processes of imitation and assimilation as it developed during the Renaissance led him to devise a theory of the motif,from the *schema* to its fully-naturalistic form.[51] For Gombrich the naturalistic mode is the least arbitrary aesthetic phenomenon because it embodies the fewest conventions in the process of depiction.[52] From the synthetic standpoint,Gombrich sees the Western

artistic tradition as a process of evolutionary naturalism in which his central concept of matching and recognition has been crucially influenced by the work of Karl Popper on inductive thinking.[53]

In his philological thoroughness, Gombrich reveals the influence of Warburg (albeit indirectly). However,the most important and significant aspect of his work is the final severance from the interpretative approach of Panofsky.*Volksgeist* and *Zeitgeist* have no place in Gombrich's writings,which reject the idea of art,philosphy,social institutions and structures being the manifestation and expression of an all-embracing essence (or spirit) of a given age.[54]

The search for a non-arbitrary means of assessing evidence continues,most interestingly through the influence of the philosophy of science.Also,in contrast to the scholars mentioned above,the work of Michael Baxandall bears witness to a most significant shift of emphasis from a causal approach to one dealing with the circumstances relevant in the creation of works of art.[55]

In the light of much of what has been said so far it has to be emphasized that the use of an evolutionary model of any kind to explain the nature of the art of the past must be treated with considerable caution.Man is more than anything else a cultural species.Culture is that striking manifestation of the permutation and multiplication of deliberate and inadvertant thoughts and ideas.The fact that pagan gods,such as Mars, Venus, Mercury and Minerva have been depicted in churches as

well as pagan temples is testimony to this fact.[56] It also has to be said,at the risk of sounding evasive or pessimistic,that there are those unconscious or intuitive aspects of the human psyche that were not recorded and which will escape the most non-arbitrary approach that can be adopted.The fate of the pagan gods,being as they were the personifications of forces,virtues,elements,etc,has been that of ideas which proved themselves to be readily transferable from one age to another.

It is appropriate at this point to say in what way the whole of the material in this chapter relates to what has been said so far,from the epistemological and ontological point of view.In one sense,there will be a continuation of the Warburgian *Das Wort zum Bild* approach in that the object of the chapter is to relate literary sources to visual images.However,the crucial difference is that this exercise will also be a continuation of the states of mind approach used in chapters 1 and 2 when dealing with the Gonzaga and with Mantegna.

Further matters need to be set out before dealing with the sources that inspired the composition of the Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue.A fundamental argument for a philosophical reading in an overall sense will be presented and the relevance of detailed textual sources for particular motifs (figurative and otherwise) in the paintings will be examined.This examination is necessary because the primary documentary sources (such as Isabella d'Este's

instructions to Perugino,and other material) cannot explain fully how detailed and particular source-references have entered the compositions.The examination of the specific textual sources does not inevitably imply that they were consulted with the particular intention of collaging them into the compositional programmes for the Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue.What the examination does signify is that in the matter of the translation of ideas,images and themes from literary into visual motifs particular texts from the works of (in this case) Cicero, Boccaccio, Ovid, Lucian and Apuleius should be appropriate in indicating how the process of articulating the Hermetic/Cabbalistic theme and wisdom in visual terms was carried out.It is also certainly the case that aspects of rhetoric,as set out by Cicero,were crucial in reconciling the strategic and inventorist tendencies in Isabella d'Este's habits of thought with the high spiritual seriousness and consistency that will be argued for in the definition of how the Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue are meant to be interpreted.

There would appear to be no direct evidence of Isabella d'Este's interest in,or access to,Hermetic and Cabbalistic wisdom-either from primary documents or from printed sources (such as editions of this sort of material dedicated to her).However,the circumstantial evidence here is very strong in indicating that Isabella would have been markedly receptive to this kind of teaching.The Schifanoia fresco-cycle provides a

striking insight into the way in which antique and Oriental themes and motifs were blended and reconciled with one another.It also (obviously!) gives an authentic idea of an important aspect of the cultural life of the d'Este court at Ferrara.Isabella d'Este herself (unlike her younger sister,Beatrice,who was born at Naples and spent her formative years there),in the sixteen years that she lived at Ferrara from the time of her birth to that of her marriage to Francesco II Gonzaga (1490),must have seen the Schifanoia Cycle many times.There is a strong whiff of reality in my assertion that Isabella would have had a very strong affinity with and sympathy for,Hermetic and Cabbalistic wisdom.

It also seems to me to be to be most unlikely that Isabella d'Este would have overlooked the opportunity of becoming acquainted with material which was regarded in her day as the source of a significant portion of antique and Biblical wisdom;indeed, the Corpus Hermeticum had the same impact on Renaissance Humanists as the Rosetta Stone had on philologists of later generations.In view of the wide circulation of the Corpus Hermeticum and the Cabbalistic literature among the Humanist *cognoscenti* of the second half of the fifteenth century,it could be argued that it would have been contrary to Isabella's well-known predeliction for things which were culturally exclusive for her to commission two paintings incorporating this textual source-material in the compositional programmes of the Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue.However,it is a

plausible counter-argument to assert that Isabella would hardly wish to be seen wanting in knowledge of what were regarded as essential and fundamental works of Humanist culture.Moreover,the prospect of owning a skilful blend of antique and Hermetic/Cabbalistic wisdom presented in an original visual translation would have been hard to resist.

From what has been said so far,the question arises as to whether the other paintings from Isabella's *studioli* provide evidence for the high seriousness that will be argued for in Mantegna's works.The Comus [Fig.9] comes especially to mind as it had originally been assigned to Mantegna but the composition was executed by Lorenzo Costa [b. c.1460-d.1535] owing to Mantegna's death.It was finished in 1506.Isabella,in fact,ended up with the two paintings by Mantegna,one by Perugino,two by Costa (besides the Comus he painted The Garden of the Peaceful Arts,also known as Allegory of the Court of Isabella d'Este or The Coronation of a Lady) and the Allegory of Vice and the Allegory of Virtue which were painted by Correggio [b.1489-d.1534] to complete the decoration of the second *studiolo*.All of these works are now in the Musée du Louvre at Paris.It has to be borne in mind that Isabella's *studiolo* in its final form (as catalogued by Stivini in 1542) was the result of many years of collecting and the nature of the overall pattern presented by the contents of the *studiolo* could be to some degree adventitious.[57] The fact that Isabella was manouevring a number of artists and schemes at any given time means

that it is unlikely that a fixed overall iconographic programme was feasable for the *studiolo*.However,the paintings of Mantegna,Perugino,Costa and Correggio are linked by common general themes in which the conflict between virtue and vice,the nature of love and the flowering of the arts and letters figure prominently.

There is the question of the possibility of Isabella d'Este being identified with Minerva. However,there is no direct evidence for this assertion during the years in which the Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue were being painted.Nicholas Webb argues for evidence of the identification of Isabella with Minerva in Isabella's literary circle.Isabella d'Este may have appreciated the range of literary references that Equicola brought to bear on the motto *NEC SPE NEC METU* (which was on the ceiling of her *grotta*,see chapter 2) and the invention of *signa* was a pastime enjoyed by Isabella along with her younger sister, Beatrice, Lucrezia Borgia and Renata d'Este.However,Equicola did not become permanently resident at Mantua until some years after Mantegna's death (see below).It is true that Gian Giorgio Trissino emphasized Isabella d'Este's identification with Prudence (which Webb sees as being personified by Minerva) in his Ritratti,in which Isabella's portrait is described as a personification of all the virtues set out by Plato (but especially of Prudence). However,Trissino's work appeared in 1524 which is far outside the period of Mantegna's lifetime and therefore the work is of little relevance here.[58]

Much emphasis has been placed on Paride da

Ceresara as the probable iconographer for the compositional programme of the Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue.However,this is not to imply that Mantegna did not have some important say in the matter of the *invenzione* for the paintings that had been commissioned from him (as he almost certainly had had in the programme for the Triumphs of Caesar).Mantegna's personal interest in matters antique (as set out in chapter 2) makes it certain that his personal competence in matters of mythology and allegory was appreciably greater than that of the average artist.Therefore,this aspect would affect the sense of a fixed programme needing to be supplied for Mantegna as against Perugino or Bellini in that Isabella could have left more things unsaid.It now remains to attempt to demonstrate that the literary source-material for the Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue was the work of Marsilio Ficino and Pico della Mirandola on Hermetic/Cabbalistic wisdom which was articulated by Ciceronian rhetoric with appropriate and congenial additions from Boccaccio,Lucian,Apuleius and Ovid.

(b).The Parnassus and the Triumph of Virtue: brief introduction and provenance.

The Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue (or Minerva/Pallas expelling the Vices from the Garden of Virtue) are the titles by which the paintings are generally known [Figs.1-7].They belong to the final decade of Mantegna's life and artistic career,most scholars agreeing that the Parnassus was painted in

1497 and The Triumph of Virtue between the years 1499 and 1502.Their general style is markedly lyrical and they exhibit in yet greater degree,in the portrayal of the characters,that fluidity of figure-movement that was already clearly apparent in the Hampton Court Triumphs of Caesar.[59]

The Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue are large in format;they are both 159 cms in width and 192 cms in length.The paintings were relined at some time during the seventeenth century when each work was enlarged by the addition of a strip 11 cms. wide along the top and by other strips 2 cms. wide down each side.Both paintings may be seen today in the Musée du Louvre at Paris,glistening and shimmering through their coats of varnish,with the brilliant colours so characteristic of Mantegna's late style (although there were exceptions) giving an appearance that is very similar to that of enamelled tin.The technical quality of execution is outstanding, as is the standard of pigments and vehicles used in the creation of the compositions.[60] Both works were painted in egg-tempera on fine linen canvas which had been primed with a ground of thin gesso mixed with glue.It is also the case that some oil has been used in the execution of The Triumph of Virtue.This oil has been discovered mostly in the blue colours,although in some of the areas of blue Mantegna evidently overlaid a thin layer of tempera,presumably to modify the effect of the oil.[61] As is virtually inevitable in the case of works of art of this age,some restorative treatment has been carried out at various

times on the paintings and consists of skilful repaints in oil and modifications to some of the motifs.This is especially so with regard to the Parnassus,where the rustic lattice fence has been painted out at the point where it crosses the space in front of the arch of rock;also,the mouths of some of the dancing Muses have been neatly "closed" at some date.[62]

From the dates of their completion to that of the death of their commissioner,Isabella d'Este (1539),the Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue remained as part of the collection of antique and *all'antica* works of art in the *studiolo* of the *Marchesa*,in both its original and subsequent locations in the Castello di San Giorgio at Mantua.[63] Following Isabella's death the paintings were moved to the adjacent Palazzo Ducale by her son,Duke Federico I Gonzaga (b.1500-d.1540) where they would remain until being given to Armand-Jean du Plessis,Cardinal and Duke of Richelieu,between the years 1627 and 1637.In 1801,the Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue were acquired by the French government from the du Plessis estate and removed from the so-called *Cabinet du Roy* in the now-destroyed Château de Richelieu,from whence they were displayed in the Musée Central des Arts at Paris.They were subsequently exhibited at the Musée Napoleon and now form part of the collection at the Louvre.[64]

Although the Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue have not received the same degree of attention that has been given to other individual and important commissions from Mantegna's artistic career,they have

nevertheless exercised the critical scrutiny of a number of scholars fron the turn of the century onwards.[65] This scrutiny has centred around the antique visual and literary sources of inspiration behind the compositions.As far as the former are concerned,in spite of a number of ingenious attempts to trace the possible motifs it has to be said that nothing truly convincing as the specific actual source for any given motif has been located.[66] Mantegna's own strong personal interest in the art of the antique world and his acquaintance with the Bellinis,and with Cyriac of Ancona would undoubtedly have ensured a wide selection of suitable prototypes.However,Martindale is correct to say that for the moment Mantegna's handling of his antique visual sources must be regarded as variations on unknown themes.[67]

Most of the relevant and fundamental questions that could be considered have sometimes provoked controversial argument in the case of works of art from the Renaissance.These questions are;by, and for whom was the work commissioned?,when was it begun?,how could- should- would it have been displayed? - all of these questions have been readily and fully answered as far as the Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue are concerned.It is when one considers two remaining and crucial questions,namely,what is it *exactly* that the viewer is being asked to contemplate? and,how has this purpose been achieved? that one enters a less certain area for discussion and explanation.

(c).The Literary Background.

The main classics of Italian literature were certainly widely read in the northern Italian cities during Mantegna's lifetime; namely, Dante (Divina Commedia),Petrarch (Canzoniere and Trionfi), Boccaccio (Decameron and also his earlier work in verse, Filostrato,Filocolo,Teseida, Ninfale and Fiesolano).The works of these authors were mostly concerned with the theme of love and incorporated much material from antique and mediaeval sources.[68]

All of the works by these authors would have been read in the light of the prevailing literary-philosophical fashion which gave a pre-eminence to poetry and ideas about love.[69] This is to say that Petrarchan poetic forms (in the vernacular) were gradually and steadily absorbed into a more or less rigorous Neo-Platonism (which was originally written and published in Latin).The Venetian Humanist,Pietro Bembo (b.1470-d.1547) was of crucial importance in drawing these two cultural strands together.Bembo was resident in Ferrara from 1497 to 1499 and again during 1502 to 1503;he was acquainted with Lucrezia Borgia (b.1480-d.1519) and with Isabella d'Este,whom he visited at Mantua in 1505.It was while Bembo was resident in Ferrara during the years 1497 to 1499 that he wrote his dialogues on the nature of love,Gli Asolani.[70]

Mario Equicola (b.1470-d.1525) was greatly influenced in his literary work by Bembo.He began

correspondence with Isabella d'Este (from Ferrara) in 1503,finally settling in Mantua and becoming tutor to Isabella in 1508.Later,in 1519,Equicola became Isabella's secretary.While at Mantua,Equicola wrote his De Mulieribus (published in 1508,with a section designed to flatter Isabella),the Chronica di Mantova (published in 1521 and portraying the Gonzaga, especially Francesco II and Duke Federico I ,as just and magnificent rulers) and the Libro de Nature de Amore (published in 1525).Finally,one should make mention of Francesco Colonna's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili,printed and published (with woodcut illustrations) in 1499 at Venice by Aldus Manutius.This work represents a somewhat idiosyncratic form of the themes and ideas dealt with by Bembo and the other previously-mentioned authors.[71]

The courts of the northern part of the Italian Peninsula, namely, Milan, Mantua and especially Ferrara,were very famous for their enthusiasm for chivalric literature.[72] Boiardo's Orlando Innamorato was in circulation (although incomplete) from 1483 onwards,and Francesco de Ferrara wrote the Mambriano while in the service of the Gonzaga during the 1490's.It need hardly be emphasized that the popularity of the Arthurian legend remained virtually unaffected by the rise,spread and diffusion of the new Humanist culture.[73]

As far as antique literature is concerned,the rôle of the Gonzaga has already been mentioned in that they commissioned elaborate editions of works by various

important authors.The Gonzaga had been collecting books since sometime during the early fourteenth century;the Inventario of 1407 lists works by Josephus, Livy Valerius Maximus, Suetonius, Sallust Virgil, Juvenal, Lucan, Ovid, Seneca, Cicero ,Apulieus, Pliny and Aristotle.[74] There was also a long tradition of vernacular literature at Mantua,however,the influence of some of this literature on the Parnassus and the Triumph of Virtue remains doubtful.[75] All in all,there is plenty to bear in mind.

(d).States of Mind and Ways of Reading.

The remainder of this chapter will be concerned with ways of reading the Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue [Figs.1-7]. *Mneme, Mnemosyne,*and *Denkraum der Besonnenheit* are all implied in the paintings (see section *(a)* of this chapter).However,matters are more subtle than that.The nature of the compositions implies that things are not what they seem.One does not merely have antique pagan gods re-invested in authentic antique form,nor by extension, purely antique themes re-invested in genuine antique visual motifs.

The paintings present the viewer with a rich and comprehensive array of figurative and scenic motifs,which may be set out as follows;in the Parnassus [Fig.1] there are the figures of Mars, Venus, Amor/Cupid, Vulcan, Apollo/Orpheus, nine Muses, Mercury and Pegasus. There are also some very tiny figures in the distance.In the foreground some small

"brooms" or brushes are lying on the ground and one may see a squirrel and some rabbits or hares.As far as the scenic motifs are concerned,there are spectacular cliffs,a cave,a rocky arch,there are also some buildings in the distance in the form of small houses and towers,and there is also a cliff with small caves on the right of the composition.This cliff is behind (in perspective) Mercury and Pegasus [Fig.2].The effect of aerial perspective may be seen in the blue hues of the far distance.In the middle ground there are citrus trees and bushes,together with a rustic trellis,while one may see in the foreground rocky strata.Streams are running down the cliffs on both the left and right of the composition,with one flowing out from under the rock-stratum near Pegasus and near the squirrel.Further trees and shrubs (and tree-roots) may be seen;some are clearly identifiable without much effort,viz.,fig, orange, quince and bay-laurel. Finally,there are some bunches of grapes hanging on the cliff wall near Vulcan's cave.

Matters are similar with The Triumph of Virtue [Fig.4].There is a female figure (in the extreme left foreground) in the form of a bay-laurel [Figs.1 and 7] and there are the figures of Minerva/Pallas,various flying *Amores* or *Putti*,a family of Satyrs (mother and children),another "Venus",a Centaur (with moustache) and various personified Vices.The figures of the Vices,which occupy the middle ground,are noticeably smaller than that of Minerva [Figs.4,5,6] and one may also see tiny figures in the distance (through the bay-

laurel hedge).Finally,three "Virtues" have been portrayed in a cloud-like *mandorla* in the sky.As far as the landscape is concerned,there are again (on the left) spectacular cliffs and a cave.On the extreme right of the composition,the middle-foreground is occupied by a massive,square and fortress-like cliff [FIG.4] The "Garden of Virtue" is demarcated from the rest of the landscape by a very tall bay-laurel hedge which has been cut in the form of tall,articulated arches [FIGS.4 and 5]. There are also ornamental flowering shrubs with the main bay-laurel hedge.The distant scenery which may be viewed through the "arches" of the bay-laurel hedge is totally bucolic with no buildings at all,and one may also see a forest in the right distance,together with a winding river.The bay-laurel "arches" create a sensation of intensifying distance.Again,as with the Parnassus, there is a trellis in front of the bay-laurel hedge and in the extreme foreground there is a pond or small lake with individual (and identifiable) plants in it and on its margins.One may also discern a tiny,colourful flying insect near Minerva [Fig.5].Finally,there is again an effect of aerial perspective (similar to that of the Parnassus) with the sky showing clouds in the form of male heads in profile [Fig.4].

Much has been said about most,if not all,of the motifs mentioned above.The identity of most is beyond reasonable doubt.The problem lies,as has been rightly said,in ascertaining how they all function together as a whole.[76] This problem is one of evidence and

emphasis.[77]

The answer to these questions lies not so much in being eager to demolish or prove redundant other theories but rather to return to certain fundamentals concerning Isabella d'Este,Mantegna and Paride da Ceresara (his relevance is crucial,as will be explained below).By so doing one may take some reasonable bearings in the broad ocean of Renaissance Humanist culture.It cannot be emphasized too strongly that in the nature of their composition the Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue have invited interpretations of a most abstruse kind on the part of modern iconographers and Isabella's contemporaries by heaping layer upon layer of significance on each motif.

To begin with Isabella d'Este;it is worth quoting in full the main part of the contract that was drawn up with Perugino at Florence on 19 January,1503,in the presence of Bernardo Antonio di Castiglione (a citizen of Florence) and Fra Ambrogio (Prior of the Order of Jesuati).[78] After having specified the dimensions of the proposed painting,the contract continues;

> *"Our poetic invention (*la poetica nostra inventione*),which we greatly want to see painted by you,is a battle of Chastity against Lasciviousness,that is to say,Pallas and Diana fighting vigorously against Venus and Cupid.And Pallas should seem almost to have vanquished Cupid,having broken his golden arrow and cast his silver bow underfoot;with one hand she is holding him by the bandage which the blind boy has before his eyes,and with the other she is lifting her lance and about to kill him.By comparison Diana must seem to be having a closer fight with Venus for victory.Venus has been struck by Diana's arrow only on the surface of the body,on her crown and garland,or on a veil she may have around her;and part of Diana's raiment will*

have been singed by the torch of Venus,but nowhere else will either of them have been wounded.Beyond these four deities the most chaste nymphs in the trains of Pallas and Diana,in whatever attitudes and ways you please,have to fight fiercely with a lascivious crowd of fauns,satyrs and several thousand cupids;and these cupids must be much smaller than the first (the god Cupid),and not bearing gold bows and silver arrows,but bows and arrows of some baser material such as wood or iron or what you please.And to give more expression and decoration to the picture,beside Pallas I want to have the olive tree sacred to her,with a shield leaning against it bearing the head of Medusa,and with the owl,the bird peculiar to Pallas,perched among the branches.And beside Venus I want her favourite tree,the myrtle,to be placed.But to enhance the beauty a fount of water must be included,such as a river or the sea,where fauns,satyrs and more cupids will be seen,hastening to the help of Cupid,some swimming through the river,some flying,and some riding upon white swans,coming to join such an amorous battle.On the bank of the said river or sea stands Jupiter with other gods,as the enemy of Chastity,changed into the bull which carried off the fair Europa;and Mercury as an eagle circling above its prey,flies around one of Pallas' nymphs,called Glaucera,who carries a casket engraved with the sacred emblem of the goddess.Polyphemus,the one-eyed Cyclops,chases Galatea,and Phoebus chases Daphne,who has already turned into a laurel-tree;Pluto,having seized Proserpina,is bearing her off to his kingdom of darkness,and Neptune has seized a nymph who has been turned almost entirely into a raven.

*I am sending you all these details in a small drawing (*picholo disegno*),so that with both the written description (*fra le parole*) and the drawing (*disegno*) you will be able to consider my wishes in this matter.But if you think that perhaps there are too many figures in this for one picture,it is left to you to reduce them as you please,provided that you do not remove the principal basis (*fondamento principale*),which consists of the four figures of Pallas, Diana,Venus and Cupid.If no inconvenience occurs I shall consider myself well satisfied;you are free to reduce them,but not to add anything else.Please be content with this arrangement.*

Perugino evidently did reduce the number of figures; Polyphemus and Pluto have not been identified among the characters depicted in the final version of the *invenzione* that he was contracted to paint [Fig.8].[79] However,the correspondence between Perugino

and Isabella d'Este leaves one in no doubt as to Isabella's determination to hold the artist as closely as possible to the specifications stipulated in the contract.[80]

It may never be known as to whether or not Isabella had a similar contract prepared for Mantegna.However,even though she found Bellini a more wilful and slippery customer to bind to her stipulations one need not doubt that very similar (or identical) instructions were negotiated *a bocca* with Mantegna, for the obvious reason that they could be readily enforced.The implications of the way in which Perugino's contract was drawn up and the resolve of Isabella to see its terms realized to the letter are most important and significant for the Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue [Figs.1-6].In its detailed content and manner of expression,the contract is thoroughly reminiscent of an inventory and brings to mind Isabella's letter detailing the costumes and events of the wedding of Lucrezia Borgia to Alfonso d'Este.[81] The most striking and extraordinary aspect of the contract is the instruction to Perugino that whilst he may not add to the motifs stipulated he is free to remove any that he wishes to,provided that the principal figures of Pallas,Venus,Diana and Cupid remain. As far as Isabella was concerned,there were not only clear limits to be set to the artist's exercising of his imagination but also (in a manner reminiscent of a commander considering the practicalities of a planned campaign) the time factor to be taken into account.This

idea of strategic command would be readily recognized with the "strategies" of rhetoric (e.g. in an allocution).

There can be little doubt that Ciceronian rhetoric would have been the ideal instrument to articulate the didactic message of the Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue.Its purpose and nature would have been understood and appreciated by Isabella d'Este,and Paride da Ceresara would have realized that to present his *invenzione* through the medium of Ciceronian rhetoric would be to frame it in a manner totally in harmony with Isabella's state of mind.

Ancient rhetoric had trained men exclusively for speaking--and for speaking in a court of law.Rhetoric was essentially protagonistic and advocatory in function.Its organization of relevant material was much like that of an inventory,a marshalling of facts and items.In his De Inventione and De Optimo Genere Oratorum,Cicero began with a defence of eloquence followed by a description of the function,end, materials and divisions of eloquence.[82] He further stated that there were four issues involved in the handling of a case:the Issue of fact (*constitutio coniecturalis*),the Issue of definition (*constitutio definitiva*),the Issue of competence (*constitutio translativa*) and the Issue of quality (*constitutio generalis*).[83] These Issues were applied to cases involving general reasoning,for those involving the interpretation of a document Cicero listed the matters of Ambiguity,Letter and Intent,Conflict of Laws,

Reasoning by Analogy and finally Definition.[84] There were also political speeches (*genus deliberativum*) and epideictic speeches (*genus demonstrativum*).[85] The orations employed in all of the above cases and speeches consisted of an Exordium,a Narrative,a Partition,a Confirmation,a Refutation,a Digression and a Peroration.[86]

More significantly for isabella d'Este,Cicero uses the analogy with military affairs when he states that things that are done by design are managed better than those which are governed without design,rather like an army that is commanded by a wise and shrewd general.This view is reiterated similarly in De Oratore,a record of a discussion that took place in September,91 B.C. between Cicero,Licinius Crassus, C.Aurelius Cotta, Q.Mucius, Q.F.Scaevola,the Augur and P.Sulpicius Rufus at the Tusculan villa of Antonius.Here,Antonius,replying to Crassus concerning the nature of an orator,said that the orator was a specialist in the same way as the soldier,the statesman and the philosopher;[87]

> *For,if the question chanced to be as to the nature of the general's art,I should think it proper to settle at the outset who is a general:and,having defined him as a man in charge of the conduct of war,we should then add some particulars of troops, encampment,marching-formation,close fighting,investment of towns, food-supply, laying and avoidance of ambuscades,and all else pertaining to the management of warfare.....*

It need hardly be added,after all that has been said above about rhetoric,that Paride was an eminent jurisconsult who needed no reminding of the value of

Ciceronian rhetoric.

From what has been said above,the nature of the compositional content of the Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue may be determined with some certainty.For her part,Isabella definitely regarded the figures as being far more important than the landscape context,which for her would appear to have had a predominantly decorative rôle.There is no doubt that in the case of the Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue [Figs.1,2,4 and 5] respectively,the principal figures (or "principal basis") are Mercury and Minerva.[88] All the other figures are relatively subordinate in importance and function.It is also the case that although Isabella paid Mantegna due honour by regarding his efforts for her *studiolo* as the benchmark for all the other paintings that she wished to commission for it,one may note that her criterion of technical excellence was probably empirical.[89] In her letter to Perugino (30 June,1505) Isabella uses the phrase,"*il quale ne piace per esser ben designato et ben colorito;ma quando fusse stato finito cum magior diligentia,havendo a stare appresso quelli del Mantinea,che son summamente netta*",and in the one to Andrea del Tovaglia (8 July,1505),"*Anchora che quando fusse stato cum magior patientia finito seria stato più suo honore et nostra satisfactione.*"[90] The apparent lack of *diligentia* and *patientia* in the finishing of the painting could have been an aspect of Perugino's style as much as of his technique [Fig.8]. One finds no reason to suppose that Isabella's judgement would have been any different

towards the paintings that she desired from Bellini or Leonardo.Her rôle in the case of the Parnassus and of The Triumph of Virtue was one of determining the cast of characters in the compositions,and their rôles in the "campaign" of the narrative or the theme of the paintings.

Isabella's efforts at scholarship in Humanist culture have been detailed in the first chapter and there is no doubt that her endeavours in this field were earnest enough to earn her the respect of many of her acquaintances and contemporaries.However,a crucial question has to be considered in any assessment of the likely written sources of inspiration for the Parnassus and for The Triumph of Virtue:would Isabella have spent her time learning a complicated *ragionamento* replete with an awesome catalogue of texts trawled by Paride da Ceresara (see below) from all directions? In the light of the nature of her everyday correspondence,such as it has survived,and the frequency and urgency of the problems of state that she had to deal with (see chapter 1) the answer would appear to be "no".One need not doubt that the privileged *cognoscenti* who were conducted through the *studiolo* would have expected something suitably enigmatic and taxing for their cultivated minds.The nature and content of Paride da Ceresara's *invenzione* and the artistic skill of Mantegna in translating that into visual terms would have ensured that the *cognoscenti* were not disappointed.

Although Mantegna was probably held to a

compositional programme that was more rigid than he would have liked,he was clearly able to assemble the figurative and scenic motifs into an integrated whole,one which was more integrated than Perugino's attempt.It is especially the case that the landscape context was never for Mantegna the decorative subsidiary element that it was for Isabella d'Este.In both the Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue [Figs.1,4] Mantegna has juxtaposed the principal figures (i.e. Mercury and Minerva) against prominent rock-formations.This juxtaposing of figurative and scenic motifs serves not only to emphasize the presence of Mercury and Minerva but also to reinforce the impetus of Minerva's assault against the Vices in The Triumph of Virtue by the rugged,towering peak (behind her,in perspective) that appears to be teetering on the point of pitching forwards [Fig.4].By contrast,in the Parnassus,the configuration and arrangement of the rock-formations lends an air of stability and harmony to the whole composition [Fig.1].At this late stage in his artistic career,Mantegna has not been prevented from exercising a lifelong ability to bring both figures and landscape into a cohesive expression of mood,even if the programmes that he was commissioned to render in paint could be somewhat pedantic.

Paride da Ceresara (b.1466-d.1532) stands out as the most probable deviser of the *invenzione* that Isabella desired,for a number of reasons.[91] As he was descended from the counts of Ceresara,this eminent and wealthy jurisconsult would have been the sort of social

peer with a strong interest in Humanist culture that Isabella had more affinity with than with the professional scholars of the time.This particular tendency of Isabella's with regard to the drawing up of *invenzione* is worthy of note.One would have thought that her immediate choice would have been (in view of his importance,as set out earlier) someone such as Pietro Bembo to devise the *invenzioni* for two pictures that were of major importance to her.However,on her own admission Isabella found herself asking Paride da Ceresara repeatedly for new *invenzioni* for her *studiolo*.[92] One is led to consider that Isabella was exercising some sort of solidarity with fellow nobles who had aspirations to erudition in Humanist culture and who might presumably make a favourable showing alongside the professional scholars.

As far as Paride's learning is concerned,again,he would have found particular sympathy with Isabella,as he was not only thoroughly familiar with Greek and Latin literature but also devoted himself to the study of astrology,cosmography and the languages of Hebrew, Syriac and Chaldean.[93] The implication is strong that Paride had at least some familiarity with Cabbalistic lore,and in fact in later life he would be completely involved in the study of chiromancy, astrology and magic.It is unlikely that Isabella would have attempted the same degree of erudition as Paride in Hebrew,Syriac and Chaldean.However,she possibly gained a smattering in those ancient languages and her interest in matters arcane (especially astrology) was considerable,as is

well-known.[94] It should also be remembered,in the light of what has just been said,that when Isabella talks of "our poetic invention" she does not necessarily mean that she literally composed it herself,but that she owned it.

The Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue have been very frequently termed "allegories".This term literally means speaking other than one appears to speak --the opposite of *ekphrasis*.What one sees in both of the compositions is a number of *all'antica* figures in a landscape setting who are performing certain actions and whose appearance implies the use of antique literary source-material.It is especially the case with the Parnassus that one confronts the sort of ambiguity of gestural display that may be seen in the *Camera Picta* frescoes;figures are relatively loosely-linked by direction of gaze and by posture [Figs.1,19,21-25]. Although the action is more obviously indicated in The Triumph of Virtue [Fig.4],questions remain over the significance of some of the motifs and of some of the literary exclamations in the painting.It is also clear from the noticeably more awkward compositional arrangement of The Triumph of Virtue that Mantegna was unable to reduce,as he might well have done in the Parnassus,the number of figures (or characters) for greater compositional clarity and effectiveness. Isabella had almost certainly insisted that her inventory of characters be portrayed in full.Although this inventorial quality is appreciably more muted in the Parnassus,its discernability in both paintings,

together with the gestural ambiguity noted above, implies a treatment of subject that is thematic and not narrative.

It is with a mixture of disappointment and surprise that one turns to primary documents and to an eminent scholar for further information and clarification of the theme and its treatment.The first direct description of the Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue that survives comes from Stivini's inventory of the contents of Isabella's *studiolo* (1542) and is noteworthy for its vagueness.Some of the characters are described (i.e. Mars, Venus, Vulcan, Orpheus and nine dancing Muses in the case of the Parnassus,with Virtue,Otium,Inertia,Ignorance,Ingratitude and Avarice in that of The Triumph of Virtue) but nothing else apart from the general location of the paintings in the *studiolo*.[95] Stivini's inventory provides a salutary lesson in not always expecting too much from primary sources in the way of direct and "instant" enlightenment.However,it should be noted that inventories were concerned only with the listing of items,with the minimum of necessary identification.

Kristeller's approach to the Parnassus and to The Triumph of Virtue is consistent with that which he brought to all of Mantegna's works.[96] The paintings were (according to Kristeller) witnesses to the artist's lifelong pursuit of the antique,with its unrestricted feeling for nature,and therefore the search for formal truth.*Das Wort zum Bild* has no place in an argument that deals with the realm of the

artistic treatment of form,and Kristeller frankly states that any detailed explanation of the subjects dealt with by the pictures would take him into the sphere of literature,which would be foreign to that of painting.Even if the original written sources were available such a discussion would have no place in the argument as he frames it.[97] Kristeller is perceptive enough in pointing out that the expression in visual terms of the ideals of the human spirit in accordance with definite philosophical viewpoints is rooted in mediaeval scholastic tradition;what is radical in the Parnassus and in The Triumph of Virtue is that the symbolism is conveyed into the action itself instead of the concepts being rigidly personified by individual figures.[98]

A modern artist,faced with the task of expressing an *all'antica* theme or subject,would undoubtedly turn to an array of appropriate literary sources.Most,if not all,of these sources were available to Mantegna or would have been brought to his notice by patrons or Humanist advisers.Quite a number of texts have been examined and suggested as source-material for the Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue,the majority are from antiquity,however,some are from the Middle Ages and from the Early Renaissance.A survey of the potential source-material employed by the most significant scholars in their successive critiques and analyses of the "allegories" reveals the following; Förster (Lucretius, De rerum natura; Lucian,Dialogi deorum; Ovid, Remedia amoris; Galen, Protreptikos;

Boccaccio,Genealogie Deorum; Petrarch,Trionfo d'amore; Equicola,Libro de natura d'amore); Wind (Homer Odyssey;Philostratus,Imagines;Virgil, Culex ; Horace, Epistulae;Ovid,Metamorphoses;Lucan, Pharsalia; Proclus, Theologia Platonica, Elementa Theologiae; Ficino; Commentarium in Convivium Platonis de Amore; Pico,Conclusiones de modo intelligendi hymno Orphei, Conclusiones Platonica;Ausonius,Nomina Musarum; Lactantius, Institutiones Divinae,II); Camesasca (Hypnerotomachia Poliphili; Boccaccio, Genealogie Deorum); Williams+Lehmanns (Hyginus, Poeticon astronomicon; Aratus -for a versified version of Eudoxos of Knidos' Phainomena;Ovid, Fasti, Metamorphoses, Amores; Diodorus Siculus; Plato, Symposium,Cratylus;Lucretius,De rerum natura; Hesiod, Theogony;Pliny,Naturalis Historia; Philostratus, Imagines;Herodotus;Oppian,Cynegnetica;Martial,Epigrams; Virgil,Eclogues, Georgics; Cato, De agri cultura; Plutarch, Marcellus, Myrtos, Conjugalia praecepta, Quaestiones romanae, Solon, Pompey,Questiones conviviales; The Libellus de imaginibus deorum;The Ovide moralisé; Dante,Paradiso; Jacopo de Voragine, Legenda Aurea; Gafori,Theorica Musice,Practica Musice); Béguin (Equicola,Libro de nature d'amore;Hedo/Capretto, Antierotica);Lightbown (Cicero,De natura deorum,De legibus,De oratore;Ovid,Metamorphoses, Remedia amoris; Lucian,Dialogi deorum;Plutarch,Conjugalia praecepta; Philostratus,Imagines;Plato,Phaedra;Theocritus,Cyclops; Calpurnius,sixth Eclogue;Virgil, seventh Eclogue; Spagnoli,De calamitate temporum, Contra poetas impudice

loquentes;Hedo/Capretto, Antierotica;Fregoso, Anteros); Massing (largely accepts analyses of Förster and Lightbown,with the addition of Cicero's De officiis and Alberti's Intercoenales and Vita anonima);Verheyen (Boccaccio, Genealogie Deorum;Fulgentius,Mythographi Latini; Hesiod, Theogonia; Hyginus, Fabulae; Fregoso, Anteros; Plato, Symposium; Cicero,De natura deorum; Equicola, Libro de natura d'amore;Hedo/Capretto, Antierotica;The Roman de la Rose;The Echecs Amoureux; Boethius,De consolatione philosophiae). Finally, Christiansen follows Lightbown.[99]

With the exception of Williams/Lehmanns and Verheyen,all of the above-listed scholars follow the argument presented by Förster for the Parnassus in which he asserts that the Muses are disapproving of the illegitimate union between Mars and Venus,and that there is an hortatory message to the onlooker to the effect that he or she must avoid the more dubious consequences of sexual love.The atmosphere is generally one of frivolity.Most controversially,Wind carried this argument to the point of seeing the composition as a kind of burlesque heroism with a strong hint of pornography.[100] As far as The Triumph of Virtue is concerned,all scholars who have attempted to analyse the composition are in general agreement as to what is taking place (iconography and labelling have largely ensured that),however,there has been some speculation over the literary sources behind the portrayal of Minerva and the Vices.Verheyen sees the theme,in the Parnassus,as one of reconciliation between Mars and

Venus,thus neutralizing the negative effect of Vulcan so that creativity may thrive.Gombrich is similar to Wind, Förster and Verheyen.He argues,again,that one is in the presence of the Homeric gods.Gombrich goes on to say that Isabella's contemporaries interpreted the Homeric tale in the allegorical sense of the Roman rhetorician Heraclitus,namely,as a representation of the union of Ares (i.e. Strife) and Aphrodite (i.e. Love) from which Harmony is born--to the joy and gratitude of the gods.Tietze-Conrat saw the Parnassus,and especially the motif of Mars and Venus,as an allegorical reference to the marriage of Francesco II Gonzaga and Isabella d'Este.Williams-Lehmanns alone has departed from the other scholars in seeing the Parnassus as a Pythagorean exercise in harmony and number which pays due homage to the exceptionally honoured position that music enjoyed at the Gonzaga court.[101]

It is clear from a careful scrutiny of the Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue [Figs.1,4] that the figures of Mercury and Minerva are somewhat larger in scale than any of the others in the two compositions respectively.[102] From what has been said in the previous chapter about Mantegna's treatment of figurative action,it is also clear that Mercury and Minerva are the most important characters portrayed.

Both Minerva and Mercury were favourite sources of mythological references for Poliziano and the Medici circle.[103] Minerva was the presiding goddess to whom Giuliano de' Medici was encouraged to dedicate his

efforts in Poliziano's Stanze per la Giostra (1475-78).In the last stanza of the poem (No.46,Libro II) Giuliano vows his dedication to "Amor,Minerva e Gloria",and although the mythological scheme of the poem appears to be embryonic (or at least enigmatic),it does seem to be clear that it involves achieving a harmony between these opposing forces.[104] Thus, Giuliano's love for Simonetta,while overcoming her resistance to (Minerva representing chastity),is itself refined and redirected by the power of Minerva,not least as Wisdom.

For the Medici and the Humanists of their circle,Mercury represented good counsel and reason.[105] In Botticelli's Primavera Mercury is seen to be touching the clouds of Saturn in order to indicate the conjunction between Mercury and Saturn.[106] He is dispelling what are not only the dark clouds of winter but also,perhaps,the negative influence of Saturn,the planet regarded as frequently being the dominant influence on people of a studious or scholarly temperament.Mantegna himself reiterates the rôle of Mercury as the rescuer of fallen or ignorant humanity in the Fall and Rescue of Ignorant Humanity (which now survives as a sixteenth century engraved copy after Mantegna's original of 1490-1500).Mercury is here again the god of eloquence and wisdom in a composition that was probably inspired by Lucian's treatise,Slander.[107]

However,the question arises;which "Mercury" ought one to be considering here? This question is obviously crucial in determining how the theme that is portrayed

in the Parnassus works.It is Ovid who provides the image of Mercury that is traditional and well-known.The god appears frequently in the Metamorphoses as a handsome youth conveying Jupiter's commands throughout the heavens.[108] To aid him in his task Mercury was equipped with winged sandals and the *Caduceus* which possessed certain magic powers.It is also interesting to note that unlike the dual-natured Venus (with her concomitant images,either nude or clothed) the formal representation of Mercury was not beset with important and significant conceptual conflicts, therefore, representations of Mercury remained relatively consistent from antiquity to the Early Renaissance.[109]

Mercury was a Roman deity who had his origins in the Greek deity,Hermes,a god who was worshipped as the patron of the road-markers and boundary-stones placed to guide travellers.[110] The simple stone representing Mercury later developed into the more familiar sculpted *herm* with its human head and tapered pillar base complete with its prominent carved phallus indicating that the god presided over the fertility (and abundance) of herds,flocks and humans.As well as being the messenger of the gods,Hermes was credited with the invention of fire and also was the god of eloquence and music,and finally,the *psychopompos* or guide of souls.[111]

Unlike Ovid,Cicero (as he does with Venus) presents the scholar with several Mercurys.[112] He begins with the Mercury who was the child of the god of the sky and the goddess of the day.This child was the Mercury who

was aroused by Proserpina's beauty.The second Mercury was the son of Valens and Phoronis,who lived below the surface of the earth and was also called Trophonius.The third Mercury was the offspring of Jupiter and Maia,and was regarded as fathering Pan by Penelope.The fourth Mercury was the son of the Nile,the name of whom it was not permissable for the Egyptians to utter.The fifth Mercury was the one worshipped at Pheneus and who slew Argus,and because of this act had fled to Egypt where he gave the Egyptians their laws and letters.He is also mentioned by Boccaccio in his Genealogie Deorum Gentilium Libri,although the order of the Mercurys listed by Boccaccio is slightly different from that given by Cicero.He also cites the fourth Mercury as Hermes Trismegistus.[113] The fifth Mercury was referred to as Thoth by the Egyptians and was honoured by them by having the first month of the Egyptian calendar named after him.It is this Mercury,as we shall see,who is significant for the Parnassus.

Although the visual representation of Mercury remained reasonably and consistently faithful to the details provided by such writers as Ovid,variations began to appear gradually.[114] These variations were due to the influence of Arabian manuscripts which found their way into Europe mainly via the Moorish Kingdom in Spain.[115] The result of this influence was that there were some striking variations on the original theme.In the Monte Cassino manuscript of Rabanus Maurus' De rerum naturis,dating from 1023,Mercury has been portrayed as the Egyptian dog-headed god,Anubis.[116] In

this manuscript and in the fifteenth century copy now in the Vatican Library the other gods,Pluto,Bacchus and Vulcan,have been conventionally depicted. Furthermore, "Mercury/Anubis" is shown facing the other way from the other three gods with his back to them,and it is important to note that in Botticelli's Primavera and in Mantegna's Parnassus [Fig.1] Mercury is again so placed in the compositions as to appear somewhat detached from the main action.This positioning of Mercury in these paintings recalls his identification as a *herm* or boundary-marker and may signify his rôle as *psychopompos* marking the boundary between this world and the next or between one state of being and another.It is also very interesting to note that in the Eremitani Frescoes (i.e.in the choir of the Cappella Ovetari) Mercury was portrayed as a teacher.[117] It has been argued that this rendering of Mercury has its origins in the influence of manuscripts dealing with the religion of the ancient Babylonians,where the god,Nebo,was described as presiding over scholarly activities.[118] The conflation of Mercury with Nebo would be fully consistent with Mercury's rôle as the god of eloquence and wisdom.Thus was the range of Mercury's attributes widened.

This blending of antique and Oriental culture was to see its striking manifestation in three artistic works that were executed in the second half of the fifteenth century in the Italian Peninsula,at Ferrara,Florence and Rome.They are important for setting the context of the discussion of the literary

sources that lie behind the Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue.

At Ferrara,Duke Borso d'Este (b.1413-d.1471) commissioned a fresco-cycle from Francesco del Cossa (b.1435/6-d.1477) to decorate one of the major rooms of the Palazzo Schifanoia.[119] The frescoes were completed in 1470,and most of the work was carried out by Cossa, although it is possible that Ercole de'Roberti (b.1448/55-d.1496) executed the scene devoted to the month of September.The whole decorative scheme was divided horizontally into three registers with the lowest portraying the life of the court at Ferrara as it would have been led during a whole year.The next register depicted the personifications of the decans which were those of the planetary gods who themselves were shown in the uppermost register.It is the decans which are the most interesting here.The series (as it has survived) begins with the month of March,with the three decans of Aries depicted,the first in what would have been a total of thirty-six for the total twelve months.The manner of their portrayal reveals the influence of the Picatrix which in its Latin translation circulated widely during the Renaissance.[120] One sees (from left to right,above the scene for March) a tall dark man in white,a young woman who conceals with her skirts the fact that she only has one leg,and a man who is holding what appears to be a either a sphere or a circle.[121] What are present here,clothed in contemporary costumes,are the Egyptian sidereal gods of time who each ruled over ten of the

360 degrees of the Zodiac.They are a witness to their absorption firstly into Chaldean and thence into Hellenistic astrology which itself was the background to the philosophy expounded in the Hermetic literature that enjoyed an immense revival in the late fifteenth century.[122]

In the floor of Siena Cathedral,not far from the entrance,is a mosaic design that was laid down sometime during the 1480's.[123] It features a tall figure who wears a tall pointed hat and who is flanked by two figures who appear to be standing in attitudes of deference towards the central main figure.The left hand of the central figure rests on a stone tablet which is supported by sphinxes and on which is inscribed the following;

"Deus omnium creator
secum deum fecit
visibilem et hunc
fecit primum et solum
quo oblectatus est
valde amavit proprium
filium qui appellatur
sanctum verbum".

The central figure,therefore,is the Lord and creator of all things who accordingly made another god visible and perceivable to the senses.This was the first and only god made by the Lord who loved him,as being full of all good things,like an only son,who was called the Holy Word.The turbanned figure on the right hand of the central one holds a book,on the cover of which are further words;

"suscipite o licteras et leges Egiptii"

This call to the Egyptians to take up letters and laws is from Cicero's description of Hermes Trismegistus.[124] The other figure standing behind the turbanned one (in perspective),with his head clothed in a cowl,is that of Asclepius or Tat.At the feet of the central figure is the inscription;

"Hermes Mercurius Contemporaneus Moyse"

What one sees,then,is the main figure of Hermes Trismegistus,the fifth Mercury described by Cicero (see above) as he who fled to Egypt after killing Argus and who gave the Egyptian nation its laws and letters.The turbanned figure is Moses who is standing in front of Asclepius (or Tat).Finally,on either side of Hermes stand two Sibyls who are holding their written prophecies of the coming of the Christian Faith and these (in perspective) are the remaining eight,each with her own individual prophecy.Thus,the Lawgiver of the Israelites has met the Lawgiver of the Egyptians.

In 1492 Pope Alexander VI succeeded Innocent VIII.Alexander was much more sympathetic towards matters of astrology and magic than his predecessor.[125] This sympathy was shown by his promulgation on June 18,1493, of bulls which absolved Pico della Mirandola from all charges of heresy that had arisen from Pico's 900 theses and his Apologia in which he had argued (amongst many other things) that *Magia* and the Cabbala were valuable allies of the Christian Faith.[126]

Further manifestation of the sympathy that Alexander held towards matters of astrology and Oriental

religious literature was given by his commissioning from Pintoricchio (b.1454-d.1513) a series of frescoes to decorate the so-called Appartamento Borgia in the Vatican.These frescoes were painted in the years 1492-95 and portray a most striking blend of Christian and Hebrew,and Egyptian influences.[127] The decorative programme,spread over three rooms,portrays sibyls, Hebrew prophets,the Twelve Apostles,Seven Liberal Arts,seven saints and seven scenes from the Life of The Virgin.What is most important here are the Egyptian scenes in the Room of the Saints.The bull was an emblem of the Borgia family and sure enough,the sacred bull,Apis,worshipped by the Egyptians as the image of Osiris,is to be seen in a composition which by various allusions tells the story of how Apis (i.e. the sun) becomes identified with the bull of the Borgias,in other words,the Pope portrayed as the sun.Egyptian apis bulls are also shown worshipping the Cross and by extension,Hermes Trismegistus is associated with Moses in a scene which again depicts the story of the fifth Mercury who fled into Egypt after having killed Argus,the sentinel appointed by Juno to guard Io after Juno had transformed her into a cow.Io also escaped into Egypt where she became the goddess Isis,and Isis is shown seated on a throne with a figure at her left which has been identified as Moses.The figure to the right of Isis is the same as the one shown with the zodiac in the Room of the Sibyls,namely,Hermes Trismegistus.Once again the Lawgiver of the Israelites has met the Lawgiver of the Egyptians.[128]

The three artistic works described above are a witness to the importance and influence of Hermetic and (later) Cabbalistic literature which,albeit with some controversy,was rehabilitated and absorbed into the culture of the Early Renaissance.It is certainly the case that Cosimo de'Medici (b.1389-d.1464) was sufficiently interested in the Corpus Hermeticum to insist that Marsilio Ficino (b.1433-d.1499) begin translating it before continuing with his other work.[129]

It is unlikely that Isabella d'Este would have seen the Siena pavement design or the frescoes of the Appartamento Borgia,however,there can be no question that she would have been familiar with the frescoes of the Palazzo Schifanoia since her early childhood. Therefore it is reasonable to suppose that the intricacies and allusions behind the Schifanoia decorative scheme would have inspired and nourished Isabella's well-known passion for astrology and for the more occult aspects of divine literature that she is known to have been sympathetic towards in adult life.

One should pause now to consider the character of Minerva.As with Mercury,there are a number of Minervas and Cicero,Boccaccio and Apuleius present an interesting list.Cicero gives five kinds of the goddess;the first was the mother of Apollo,the second was she who sprang from the Nile and was worshipped by the Egyptians,the third was begotten by Jupiter,the fourth was the daughter of Jupiter and Coryphe,she was called Koria by the Arcadians and was the inventor of

the four-horsed chariot (*quadriga*),the last one mentioned by Cicero was Pallas,who was said to have killed her father when he attempted to violate her.[130] Boccaccio mentions four Minervas,the first being the daughter of Jupiter,the second was also a daughter of Jupiter and she was called Athene or Cecropian Minerva by the Greeks,the third was the daughter of the Nile and was called Salete by the Egyptians,the fourth and last Minerva was (according to Boccaccio) the daughter of Pallas,who killed her father for the same reasons given by Cicero.[131] It is Apuleius who gives the most comprehensive range of the names by which Minerva is known,in the Golden Ass.The goddess herself appears to Lucius in the first watch of the night in response to his urgent prayers to be changed from an ass back into human form.Lucius asks the goddess the name by which she is known and the goddess replies that her name and her divinity is adored throughout the world in various ways and by various customs.The Phrygians call her Mother of the Gods,the Athenians know her as Cecropian Minerva,the people of Cyprus call her Paphian Venus,the Cretans name her Dictynnian Diana,the Sicilians address her as Infernal Proserpine,the Eleusians as Ceres.The goddess said further that she has been called Juno, Bellona,Hecate and Rhamnusia (i.e. Nemesis,or Fate). However,it is the Egyptians who call her by her proper name,Queen Isis.[132] It would be perfectly consistent for Paride da Ceresara to conflate the second Minerva described by Cicero with the second and third presented by Boccaccio with the last from Apuleius and have the

appropriate co-protagonist with Mercury while yet having Minerva perform her proper rôle as the embodiment of *sapientia* and *virtù*.Once again,antique and Oriental themes and wisdom have been reconciled.

In view of all that has been said so far in this chapter,it is time to look again at the Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue and to consider certain crucial points.The paintings were commissioned for quiet contemplation in intimate surroundings which were furnished with artistic items of various sorts,all of which were assembled to engender an atmosphere of erudition and edification.[133] It may never be known what the precise amount was that Mantegna was paid for executing the two works,but if the amounts paid and offered to Perugino and Bellini respectively are any indication one is talking of a probable total sum of 200 ducats.[134] Isabella would hardly have thought of spending this amount of money on compositions dealing with the theme of adultery (however abstrusely expressed or elegantly executed) or of warding off the more dubious effects of Cupid's arrows,nor a burlesque rendering of Homeric or Neoplatonic sentiment.[135] Elegant facetiousness has no place here.

What it was that Isabella certainly required and desired was something that fulfilled the Horatian maxim,"*Odi profanum volgus et arceo*" and it is without doubt the case that the Parnassus successfully performed its essential function of deliberate obscurity as contemporary remarks and comments bear witness.[136] Battista Fiera's mistaken assertion,in one

of his poems,that the Venus in the Parnassus was Isabella herself was probably not the only one of its kind.Whatever annoyance or embarrassment may have been caused to Isabella d'Este by Fiera's misjudged interpretation and attempt at flattery would have been more than outweighed by the satisfaction that she would have felt at seeing one of the court scholars defeated by a suitably arcane work of art.

There is no reason to suppose that the Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue were not executed in prompt succession to one another.[137] It is known that the Parnassus was finished and hung in the *studiolo* during 1497 and although The Triumph of Virtue was finished during 1502 one sees no reason to quarrel with the assertion that it was begun in 1499,if not earlier.The implication here is that it is possible that the two compositions were to be read together and not as separate,discrete items.

The nature of the compositional arrangement of the Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue [Figs.1 and 4] implies,as was said,that one is dealing with matters thematic and not narrative.The two paintings,read together,portray the theme of regeneration and of transcending earthly vices in favour of the pursuit of higher and more edifying occupations.The question now arises;what literary source-material did Paride da Ceresara draw upon for his *invenzione*? Obviously one source was Ovid,as one sees that there is a direct quote from his Remedia Amoris (inscribed beside the personification of Idleness in The Triumph of

Virtue),"*Otia si tollas periere Cupidinis arcus*".[138] However,what one would like to suggest here is that the fundamental unifying source-texts for the Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue are the writings of Marsilio Ficino and of Pico della Mirandola dealing, respectively,with Hermetic and Cabbalistic teaching.The Asclepius is also relevant here as well.[139]

In common with the Schifanoia fresco-cycle,the Siena Cathedral mosaic pavement portrayal of Hermes Trismegistus and the fresco-cycle of the Appartamento Borgia,the Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue are a witness to the complex and most fascinating process of the rehabilitation and conflation of Hermetic (and similar) occult themes with those of the antique classical world.They also provide an insight into a crucial aspect of the Renaissance view of history and the inherited wisdom of a former age.[140]

In 1527,outside the Münster at Basle,Paracelsus (b.1493-d.1541) took a copy of a treatise on medicine by Avicenna (an Arab scholar influenced by Aristotle) from the university library and threw it on the traditional summer "Bonfire of the Vanities" that was staged annually by the students.[141] The burning of this document,along with the treatises of Galen,was a momentous gesture.It represented a break with the cherished idea that the works of antique authors contained the inspired wisdom of a golden age; Paracelsus was sayinq that one could not look back to the past,there never was a "Golden Age".

This action,however,took place a generation and a

half later from the time that Isabella d'Este,Mantegna and Paride da Ceresara were involved in the creation of the Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue.It was also exceptional in its day and for some time afterwards,although one should note that in his book,De la Integrità de la militare arte (1476-77),Antonio Cornazzano makes it clear that he did not believe that the Ancients had a monopoly of wisdom concerning military matters.[142] Nevertheless,it may be justly asserted that the Renaissance shared a common kinship with the Middle Ages and with antiquity in being essentially retrospective for its inspiration.The past was always better than the present.Unlike those earnest nineteenth-century German scholars who were developing their theories about the Renaissance and its cultural manifestations,the Renaissance itself did not have an evolutionary view of history.Man had not evolved from primitive origins and then gone on to experience his spiritual and cultural growth through an ever-increasingly complex historical process.Revival and re-birth always repeated themselves along with maturity and decay.The Humanists who laboured so indefatigably to recover the literature and the monuments of antiquity,and the patrons and artists who were inspired and influenced by their efforts,had a constant sense of a return to a civilization that was better and greater than their own.

"*Ad fontes*" was the great abiding sentiment and mission of the fifteenth-century Humanists,indeed,their slogan.It is all the more striking,therefore,that the

profound effect that Hermetic literature and the Cabbala exerted on the culture of the Renaissance should have been due to an error in the dating of documentary sources.Marsilio Ficino and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola really did believe that they were heirs to a wisdom that reached back uninterrupted from the time of Plato to that of Moses and the Egyptians.Plato himself was believed to have known and to have been inspired by Hermetic and Cabbalistic teaching,as was Pythagoras.[143]

The reality was of course far otherwise.There was no actual return to authentic ancient Egyptian and Hebrew wisdom.The works that so inspired the would-be Magus of the Renaissance were probably written (by anonymous authors) sometime between 100 and 300 A.D.[144] The real return was to the pagan and Oriental background of the early Christian world,a world in which magical influences had never been far away.The Hermetic literature is a witness to the attempts of pagan people,unsympathetic towards the Christian Faith,to find a meaning behind their lives in an essentially gnostic version of Greek philosophy.

Ficino derived his theory concerning the relationship that existed between Hermes Trismegistus and the Greek philosophers partly from material furnished by early Christian authors such as Lactantius and Augustine of Hippo and partly from the epistemological content in the Corpus Hermeticum and in the Latin Asclepius of the so-called Pseudo-Apuleius.[145] Ficino perceived that the resemblance that

existed between the writings of Plato and the Hermetic teachings was close enough to indicate an historical connection.However,he accepted as given the notion that "Hermes Trismegistus" was an actual historical figure who was a contemporary of Moses.Accordingly,Ficino asserted that Plato had derived his theology from Hermes Trismegistus via Pythagoras.There would be no deviation from this view until the end of the sixteenth century.[146]

The fourteen Hermetic dialogues that Ficino had translated for the eager eye of Cosimo de'Medici (Ficino did not know the fifteenth) under the name of Pimander (the name of the first dialogue),were,along with the Asclepius,part of a large corpus of literature which it is worth examining in some detail.The Corpus Hermeticum and the Asclepius represented the philosophical portion of the writings of anonymous Greek authors incorporating a dense mixture of Platonism and Stoicism,together with Persian and Jewish influences.[147] The general purport was one of intense piety in which the reader was conducted through the fields of astrology and the occult sciences.He was introduced to the secret virtues of stones and plants,and how to exercise a sort of sympathetic magic which drew on the knowledge of these secret virtues.[148] There was also a section dealing with talismanic magic by means of which one could draw down the powers of the various stars and planets.[149]

It may be the case that the Corpus Hermeticum and the Asclepius represent a reaction on the part of jaded

pagans (unsympathetic,as was said,to the Christian Faith) to what was seen as the limitations of Greek dialectics where Platonists,Epicureans and Stoics could only offer repetitions of the theories of their respective schools.[150] While it is the case that elements of these schools of thought are to be found in the Corpus Hermeticum and the Asclepius,there is evidence of something new.The fourteen treatises of the Corpus Hermeticum that were known to Ficino give a description of the ascent of the soul through the spheres of the planets to the realm of the divine above them.Not only this but also there is presented a process of regeneration by means of which the soul casts off the chains which bind it to the world and thus becomes filled with divine powers and virtues.[151]

The Hermetic treatises were presented in the form of dialogues which took place between the master and his disciple (in this case between Hermes Trismegistus and his son Tat).The culmination of these dialogues was a sort of ecstasy on the part of the disciple in which he utters hymns of praise in acknowledgement of having received spiritual enlightenment.[152] This enlightenment was attained through contemplating the cosmos or the world by means of the *Nous* (i.e. the faculty of intuition) which filtered out the divine significance of what was contemplated and gave the disciple a degree of spiritual mastery over it.[153] Thus,philosophy was no longer a mere dialectical exercise but now a way of achieving an intuitive knowledge of the divine,a gnostic experience which could only be prepared for by

the exercise of an ascetic discipline.[154] Therefore, what had been only a philosophical *leitmotif* in Stoicism and Platonism came of age in Hermetism as an actual religion to be pursued and exercised in the mind alone,albeit through a gnostic method.

Unlike the Corpus Hermeticum,the Asclepius was formerly thought to be attributable to a definite author,one Apuleius of Madaura (b.123 A.D.),better known for writing the Golden Ass.[155] Apuleius is known to have travelled in Egypt,where,reacting against what he had studied at Carthage and Athens,he became absorbed in the occult.It is certainly the case that he was accused of magic.Thanks to the efficiency of Roman communications anyone who cared to could become acquainted with Egyptian culture and also with Persian Magi,Chaldean astrologers and Indian gymnosophists.[156] The Asclepius,in its description of the magic through which the Egyptian priests animated their idols,clearly exhibits the reverence with which Egyptian culture was held in the antique world (not least as the traditional source of the strongest magic).[157]

One may well appreciate the thrill that Ficino experienced (and the impatience of Cosimo de'Medici) when in 1460 a Greek manuscript containing a draft of the Corpus Hermeticum arrived in Florence.Cosimo employed various agents (in this case it was a Greek monk) to collect manuscripts for him.Here at last,it seemed,was the key to ancient Egyptian philosophy, wisdom and magic,and the source of Plato and Aristotle.The fact that the fifteenth treatise (or

dialogue) was missing was neither here nor there.The means of reconciling Christian,Jewish and pagan thought was beleived to have arrived.[158]

Ficino's translation of the Corpus Hermeticum (entitled as the Pimander) was to enjoy an immense popularity throughout the Renaissance.More manuscripts survive of it than any other work by Ficino.The translation was finished during 1463 in time for the infirm Cosimo de'Medici to see it,the first printed version appeared in 1471 and the Pimander would subsequently pass through sixteen editions,the final one leaving the press around the year 1600.[159] The work was dedicated to Cosimo in a laudatory address at the front of the book relating that Atlas the astrologer lived at the time of Moses' birth and that Atlas was the brother of Prometheus and the maternal uncle of the elder Mercury,the nephew of whom was Mercurius Trismegistus.[160] One witnesses a striking tribute to the awesome reputation of Hermes Trismegistus in the eyes of Ficino and his patrons.

As a practising priest,Ficino would have been well aware of the venerable authority that existed in support of the belief that Hermes Trismegistus was an historical figure who had written the Corpus Hermeticum.This authority was the writings of two of the Church Fathers,namely,Lactantius and Augustine of Hippo.[161] However,one finds here the first note of controversy to be struck in the assimilation of pagan writings into the culture of Christian Europe.Although Lactantius says nothing that is hostile to Hermes

Trismegistus (indeed,he perceived "him" to be a significant ally in the use of pagan teachings in support of the truth of Christian ones),Augustine is unambiguously condemnatory in his comments on a passage in the Asclepius that describes pagan idols and their associated rituals.[162] It is possible that Augustine was making a reply to Lactantius' lauding of Hermes Trismegistus as a Gentile prophet who,along with the sibyls,foresaw Christ's Coming.Augustine acknowledged that much of what Hermes Trismegistus said was valuable but dismissed his prophecies and his description of the magic by which the Egyptians animated their idols as the work of the devil.[163]

There was a real dilemma for Ficino.He could not afford to ignore the views of Augustine,however,there was a way out of the situation.Augustine had not used a Greek text of the Asclepius as Lactantius had done,but a Latin one now thought to date from the fourth century A.D.Therefore,it was possible for the would-be Renaissance magus who wished to avoid the censure of the Church to assert that the controversial passage in the Asclepius was a Latin interpolation made by Apuleius and not the Greek original.[164] Thus Ficino could practise the sympathetic magic dealt with in the Asclepius (if only tentatively) with a clear conscience.

Negative some of Augustine's comments may have been but they were a confirmation of Hermes Trismegistus' existence in antiquity for Ficino.He was the source and origin of an unbroken heritage of

wisdom that passed from Plato and Aristotle to Lactantius,Augustine of Hippo and Clement of Alexandria,as Ficino makes clear in the preface to the Pimander.[165] Hermes' teachings are nearer to the doctrine of Orpheus than to those of Pythagoras and he was also a prophet who saw the demise of the old Egyptian religion and the Coming of Christ.[166] In his Argumentum (before the main text of the Pimander) Ficino vitiates the condemnation of Augustine by emphasizing Lactantius' more favourable view.The Argumentum ends on an ecstatic note,expounding the rise of the adept above sensory deceptions and the clouds of fantasy and his turning towards the Divine Mind (i.e. Pimander) as the moon turns to the sun.With his mind subsequently permeated by the spirit of Pimander,the adept is then able to contemplate the order of all things as they exist in God.[167]

The Corpus Hermeticum was only one of many documents that reached the Italian Peninsula as a consequence of the Fall of Constantinople.Ficino's translation of the Corpus Hermeticum did much to transform the status of magic in the Renaissance.The effect of his work was (amongst other things) the equating of the *Prisci Theologi* with the *Prisci Magi*.[168] Magic now became a respected part of the work of the Renaissance philosopher and scholar who no longer saw it as the clandestine practice of ignorant or atavistic people.[169] The figure of Hermes Trismegistus looms over all others in the revival of magic in the Renaissance."His" piety,as demonstrated in

the Corpus Hermeticum,and the latter's link with Platonic philosophy effectively brought Egyptian wisdom and magic to a sympathetic audience.However,it was not Ficino who was its most ardent practitioner;that rôle was to be filled by Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (b.1463-d.1493),who must be briefly scrutinized before looking in detail at the work of both scholars as a source for,and as reflected in,the Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue.

Pico,who began his philosophical work under the influence of Ficino,accepted the teachings of the *magia naturalis* that he found in the Corpus Hermeticum and the Asclepius eagerly.The main difference between Ficino and Pico was that the latter would propound them far more frankly and forcefully.[170] However,Pico's main importance and significance in the philosophical work of the Renaissance is his marrying of Cabbalist magic to the *magia naturalis* of Ficino,indeed,in the fifteenth of his *Conclusiones Magicae* Pico asserts that *magia naturalis* can have no authentic efficacy or power without the addition of Cabbalist magic.[171]

Pico had perceived a fundamental similarity connecting the Hermetic system (dealing with the Powers and their opposites) and the Cabbalist system (dealing with the Sephiroth and their opposites),finally setting the whole in a cosmic framework.Further insight into all of this thinking is given by Pico's Oration De Hominis Dignitate and by his 900 theses which include his 72 *Conclusiones Magicae*.[172] The former was based on a gnostic text and not a patristic one;the influence of

the Asclepius is revealed in the opening passage of the Oration,with its claim that Man is divine in origin.[173]

It was here that grave difficulties began for Pico.Ficino had encountered similar difficulties from theologians because of his dabblings in magic but had sidestepped them by not asserting his sympathies too strongly and by emphasizing Lactantius against Augustine of Hippo.Pico had travelled far further down the road of practical magic and Cabbala with the result that Pope Innocent VIII was moved to appoint a commission to examine all 900 of Pico's theses.[174] Several of these were condemned,especially the seventh *Conclusione Magicae*,even though this had emphasized that Christ had not performed His miracles with the aid of magic or Cabbala.[175]

Pico's 900 theses were published at Rome in 1486.They amounted to a very ambitious attempt to prove that all philosophies were reconcilable.Throughout the 900 theses Pico reveals that his syncretic thinking has been coloured by astrology and was favourable to *magia naturalis*,the Orphic Hymns,Chaldean Oracles,the Corpus Hermeticum and to the Cabbala.However,the 26 *Conclusiones Magicae* and the 72 *Conclusiones Cabbalisticae* were to dash Pico's hopes that there would be a debate at Rome on the reconcilability of all philosophies.The condemnation of Innocent VIII was followed by Pico's Apologia (which is thought to have been published in May,1487) and Pico made a formal submission and retraction in July,1487.[176] In August of that year Innocent VIII issued a bull formally

condemning all the theses and forbidding any publication.Although Pico was exculpated because of his submission,he fled to France but he did not escape arrest and imprisonment at Vincennes by the Papal *nuncios*.In spite of these events his theses were to be very influential on the work of the schoolmen at Paris.[177]

Pico returned to Italy,but the possession of letters of commendation from King Charles IX and the steadfast support of Lorenzo *Il Magnifico* did not save him from further trouble.In 1489,Bishop Pedro Garcia issued a long and detailed reply to the Apologia.Its focus of attack was a refutation of the seventh *Conclusione Magicae* but its general content was one of complete opposition to the study and practice of magic of any kind as being contrary to the Faith.Christian observances were only efficacious through the power of God,also the antiquity of the Cabbala was denied.[178]

However,Pico was to see his position vindicated with the accession of Pope Alexander VI in 1492.The Borgia pope had a considerable interest in astrology and magic.On 18 June of the following year he promulgated bulls for Pico's absolution from any hint of heresy.In the last year or so of his life,Pico wrote the Disputationes adversus astrologiam divinatricem which refuted the power of astrology or horoscopes to fortell the future,but defended Ficino's theories concerning the use of astral influences by sympathetic magic.[179]

Pico never departed from his belief in the great

antiquity of the Cabbala and that it supplemented and explained mysteries found in the Book of Genesis.Not only this but also Hermetism and Cabbalism corroborated each other by the theme of the creation by the Word.The Pimander was the Egyptian "Genesis".[180] Pico was the instigator and founder of a mystical and magical meditation on the nature of creation and Mankind which incorporated complex religious speculations involving numerology,etymology and harmonic studies.One must now examine in detail the relevant work of Ficino and Pico so that its expression in the Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue may be clearly understood.

Ficino,and the audience that he addressed,would not have been aware (as one is obviously now) of the actual historical and critical issues implied in the Corpus Hermeticum and in the Asclepius.It was of paramount importance to them that they had in their hands a body of inspiring literature that offered the means of achieving a higher spiritual state while reinforcing the authority of the Christian Faith.In point of fact,as will be seen,what confronted Ficino and his contemporaries was a gnostic system of personal salvation,achieved not through the aid of a personal God or Saviour but rather by means of a religious approach to the cosmos.

The cosmological framework of the Corpus Hermeticum and the Asclepius was always astrological.The earthly world was permanently under the rule of the stars and of the seven planets (or "Seven Governors"),and astrological laws were always the context of the

religious experience of the gnostic.[181] It was precisely this religious approach which gave the Corpus Hermeticum and the Asclepius the coherence which they lacked in any other respect,for one is not dealing here with a distinct philosophical system but rather with the witness of individual souls who were seeking revelation into divine personal salvation.This witnessing was set down in the form of an aggregation of documents by various anonymous authors,the treatises themselves are often compounded of different tracts which have been grouped together,the contents of which are often contradictory.

Féstugière has teased out the thinking of the various treatises into two groups,namely,an Optimist Gnosis and a Pessimist Gnosis.[182] According to the former all phenomena of the physical world are imbued with the divine essence,they live and act with a divine life.The stars themselves are living,divine entities and the heat of the sun is a manifestation of divine power;no aspect or part of nature may be called bad,for it is all a part of God.[183] According to the latter,all phenomena of the physical world are imbued with the fatal influence of the stars and are therefore in themselves evil.One must escape from these by means of an ascetic way of life which avoids as much as possible all contact with matter.Thus,the enlightened soul will ascend through the planetary spheres (shedding these evil influences as it rises) until it achieves its authentic home in the immaterial divine world.[184] It should be said that a number of the Hermetic treatises

incorporate elements of both the Optimist and the Pessimist Gnosis.

One may pause now and look again at the composition of the Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue [Figs.1 and 4].It is no accident that the figures of Mercury and Minerva occupy the right and the left margins of the compositions respectively.Mercury is looking across at the other figures in the Parnassus [Figs.1 and 2],while Minerva in The Triumph of Virtue [Figs.4 and 5] enters the scene dramatically,having scored an *attaint* (a blending here of the chivalric and the antique,similar to what may be seen in the Stanze per la Giostra -see above,in this chapter) against an opponent (unseen) as her broken lance indicates,and is about to drive out the various Vices depicted in the painting.The figures of Mercury and Minerva are pivotal to the whole theme,which is expressed by the two paintings jointly.There can be no doubt that they were intended to hang adjacently to one another in the *studiolo* and not on opposite walls.In this matter Lightbown and Gerola assert that the compositions were intended to hang on opposite walls.Verheyen's course of argument is somewhat curious.He begins by asserting that in the original arrangement of the paintings in the *studiolo*,Mantegna's compositions hung on opposite walls,but then states (p.21) that the subsequent arrangement of 1510-11 (in which Mantegna's works do hang adjacent to one another in the way suggested in this chapter of this thesis) was on the one hand dictated by the necessities of space but on the other

is proved by the continuity of the landscape backgrounds in the paintings of Perugino and Costa [Figs.8 and 9] which then rendered the Parnassus the first picture in the new frieze-like installment,and Costa's so-called Coronation of a Lady the climax.It may be observed that the landscape backgrounds of the works of Perugino and Costa are not quite as "continuous" as he asserts.Wind states that the allegories were meant to hang together as they had equal force (i.e. "Virtue" balancing "Pleasure"),only that in his argument the Parnassus hung to the right and The Triumph of Virtue hung to the left,whereas it would be argued here that it was the other way round (for the reasons which will be given below,dealing with the direction of the action).[185] To this assertion it may be objected that the light issues from opposite directions in the compositions (left in the case of the Parnassus,and from the right in that of The Triumph of Virtue);let it be said,then,that the examination below of the relevant passages from the Corpus Hermeticum,the Asclepius and the *Conclusiones Magicae* and the *Conclusiones Cabalisticae* should make it clear that Mantegna has depicted two symbolic worlds and that the enlightened soul passes from the lower earthly state shown in The Triumph of Virtue [Fig.4] to the higher Ogdoadic state presented in the Parnassus [Fig.1].The direction of the theme is from right to left (as will be explained below).However,as in the Triumphs of Caesar,greater interest is provoked by the direction of the action of the figures being altered in a way

contrary to expectation.In the case of the Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue the direction of the action does not follow that of the theme (i.e. from right to left) but is leftwards in the Parnassus and to the right in The Triumph of Virtue.It is likewise with the direction of light.As the worlds being depicted are symbolic,Mantegna could claim artistic licence in his rendering of the fall of light.

The Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue are indeed allegories;they do not speak as they appear to do.What confronts one is an Hermetic-Cabbalistic path of spiritual enlightenment conflated with some appropriate antique and Early Renaissance literary motifs and expressed in *all'antica* visual imagery in a landscape setting.This Hermetic-Cabbalistic background may now be examined in some detail.

In the first treatise of the Corpus Hermeticum (the Pimander) the spiritual enlightenment of Hermes Trismegistus is set out.[186] Pimander (the *Nous* or divine *mens*) appears to Hermes when his sensory perceptions are subdued in the manner of a deep sleep.Hermes utters his great desire to know the nature of things and also to know God.Pimander's manifestation changes and Hermes sees an infinite vision which is all light.Pimander declares this light to be himself,the *Nous*,Hermes' God,and also that the luminous Word issuing from the *Nous* is the Son of God.Hermes then sees within himself a light which is his own *Nous* or *mens* and also an innumerable number of Powers.This infinite world also appears with fire and is enveloped

in an all-powerful force.Hermes then asks Pimander from where the elements of nature have their origin.He is told that they originate from the will of God,which also received into itself the Word.The Word then united itself with the *Nous*-Demiurge as it was the same in substance.The *Nous*-Demiurge,together with the Word, moves the Seven Governors on which the earthly elemental world depends.

Hermes then gives an account of the creation of Man.[187] This is a direct action of the "*Nous*-Father" by which he brought into being a Man who was similar to himself in image and who was given authority over all the created world of the "*Nous*-Father".The Man,for his part,also wished to create a work on his own behalf and was given permission to do this by the "*Nous*-Father".[188] The Man had now entered the demiurgic sphere and the Seven Governors fell in love with him and each of them conferred on the Man a portion of their authority.[189] Then the Man desired to transcend the periphery of the planetary circles of the Seven Governors and to know the power of God ("*Nous*-Father") which reigned above.[190]

After this came the union of Man with Nature which followed as a result of Man having fallen in love with her and wishing to be with her after having revealed to her the beauty of God's form.[191] Nature also loved Man and as a result of their union seven men were born whose nature corresponded to that of the Seven Governors (Man having in him the nature of the Seven Governors in the form of fire and breath). Earth,

water,fire and ether were the elements involved in this act of union;the earth was female,water was the generative element,fire brought everything to maturity and ether gave the vital breath to Nature who thus produced the bodies with Man's form.[192] These men had a soul and an intellect derived from the life and light of the son of the "*Nous*-Father";they had a double nature,mortal because of their bodies,but immortal through their spiritual and intellectual connection with the son of the "*Nous*-Father".Later,these "men" and all animals in the created earthly world were divided into two sexes by the will of God ("*Nous*-Father") so that they could multiply.[193] Thus the generations were established.

Pimander now considers it time to advise Hermes Trismegistus on how he must conduct himself in life.He has a special obligation because of the mysteries which have been revealed to him.Hermes is light and life and must,through self-knowledge,realize that he is of the light and life of God.By means of the intellect Hermes will come to know himself and return to life. Furthermore,Hermes must live a life of purity and holiness,he must continually propitiate God through filial love and by offering benedictions and hymns.[194]

Hermes then expresses a wish to know about the nature of the ascension.Pimander explains that at death the entity of Man undergoes a process of dissociation: the mortal body returns to its corporeal elements,but the spiritual part rises up through the armature of the seven spheres (of the Seven Governors).[195] As the

spiritual part ascends it leaves behind at each sphere a part of its mortal nature and the evil that it contains.Finally,now totally denuded of everything that was given to it by the spheres (i.e. the Governors),it enters the Ogdoadic state and hears the Powers singing hymns to God,and becomes at one with the Powers.The first treatise then ends with Hermes Trismegistus being dismissed by Pimander after which Hermes sets out and preaches to the people that they must forsake their errors and look towards the immortal.[196]

One need hardly emphasize how struck Ficino would have been by parallels between the first treatise of the Corpus Hermeticum and the account of the Creation as given in the Book of Genesis,the first book of the Old Testament,which was the first Book of Moses. Hermes,the Lawgiver of the Egyptians,resembled Moses,the Lawgiver of the Hebrews.[197] In the Theologica Platonica,Ficino speculates on the possibility of Hermes Trismegistus actually being Moses,stating that "Trismegistus Mercurius" taught the Mosaic account of the Creation more clearly for him,and that this should come as no surprise if Artapanus the historian is correct in asserting that Trismegistus Mercurius is the same person as Moses.[198]

With the perspective of some 529 years it is easy to see certain critical and historical problems which were unknown or unheeded by Ficino and his audience.Most significantly,Ficino fails to indicate radical and fundamental differences between the account given in Genesis and that presented by the first

treatise of the Corpus Hermeticum.This is especially so in the matter of Man's nature and his Fall.Adam had been punished for succumbing to the temptation to become like God,however,the Man as described in the Pimander is more than merely human,he is in fact divine and belongs to the star-demons.Moreover,he is actually said to be the brother of the creative Word,the *"Nous-*Demiurge", the Son of God.[199] One is reminded here again of the passage from the Asclepius with which Pico opens his oration,De Hominis Dignitate where Man is described as the *magnum miraculum*,divine in origin,who despises the human part of his nature and places his hope in the divine part.[200]

In The Triumph of Virtue [Fig.4] the formidable and stern figure of Minerva advances towards the personified Vices.The aura of sternness that the goddess so clearly expresses has probably been inspired by the conversation between Aphrodite and Eros in Lucian's Dialogi Deorum.Aphrodite asks Eros why he avoids Athena (Minerva) in spite of the fact that he has triumphed over the other gods and goddesses.Eros replies that he is afraid of Athena because she is very like a man and has flashing eyes,moreover,when Eros flew near her she threatened to transfix him with her spear or do other equally unpleasant things to him.[201] Minerva is advancing in response to the cries for help from the anthropomorphic tree [Figs.4 and 7] on the extreme left of the composition (portrayed by Mantegna as a bay-laurel,with the legend inscribed on the banderole, "*Agite pellite sedibus nostris/foeda haec*

vicioru[m] monstra/virtutum coelitus ad nos red[e]u[n]tium divae comites") and from the "Mother of the Virtues" on the extreme right (whose cry,inscribed on another white banderole is,"*Et mihi virtutu[m] matri/succurrite divi*") who appears to be imprisoned in the fortress-like structure also on the extreme right.As far as the inscription carried on the banderole on the anthropomorphic laurel-tree is concerned,there has been some debate over the legibility and meaning of the Greek and Hebrew texts that are written along with the Latin.It is probable that this illegibility or difficulty of decipherment is intentional and could have been inspired by Apuleius.In the Golden Ass Apuleius describes strange books written partly with letters (whose tops and tails turned round like the fashion of a wheel or vine-tendrils) and partly illustrated with figures of beasts that declared each sentence presented.This action was to prevent the uninitiated or the profane from reading the books.[202]

The Vices being driven away are as follows;Avarice (*Avaricia*),who leads the retreating Vices (from the extreme right of the composition,Fig.4),portrayed as a lean woman with dry pendulant breasts;Ingratitude (*Ingratitudo*) assists her in carrying the obese crowned figure of Ignorance (*Ignorancia*);both Ingratitude and Ignorance are portrayed as female figures.Next comes an ugly Satyr who is carrying a cupid shorn of his wings.He is followed by bearded Centaur who is the mount for the figure of Venus/*Luxuria* portrayed as a young woman holding a dark green cloak diagonally

across the lower middle part of her body,who has fashionably-styled hair and is carrying a bow (and quiver?).Behind these two is a simian hermaphrodite labelled as "Immortal Hatred,Fraud and Malice" (*Immortale Odium,Fraus et Malitiae*).The figure is carrying four small bags containing the seeds (*Semina*) of Evil (*Mala*),worse Evil (*Peiora*) and the worst Evil (*Pessima*).There are two remaining Vices;Idleness (*Otium*),shown as a flabby, armless figure who is led (by a flat rope or strap) by Sloth (*Inertia*),portrayed with unkempt hair and clothes [Fig.6].Both of these figures are female.There are other figures to whom we will return later.One may also note the quotation from Ovid's Remedia Amoris,inscribed beside Idleness,"*Otia si tollas/periere Cupidinis arcus*".[203]

What is implied by all this is the theme of purification and regeneration,an opportunity for an amendment of one's life and the chance to rise to a higher spiritual and intellectual state.This theme is clearly set out in the thirteenth treatise of the Corpus Hermeticum which takes the form of a discourse between Hermes Trismegistus and his son,Tat,on the process of regeneration.[204] The treatise opens with Tat,who has undergone a process of spiritual fortification against the illusory attractions of the physical world,asking Hermes Trismegistus to teach him about the doctrine of regeneration.Hermes states that the process of regeneration in Man is the result of intelligent wisdom cultivated in silence.[205] The seed of this wisdom is the True Good that is sown in Man by

the Will of God.As the result of this Will the reborn man will be god,a son of God and composed of all the Powers.[206] Hermes knows this because,indeed,he has undergone the process of regeneration.Tat is eager to experience the regenerative process himself and beseeches Hermes to pass it on to him.Tat asks who is the agent of regeneration;Hermes says that it is the Son of God,who is a man like other men by the Will of God.Tat then inquires about the nature of truth and Hermes explains that it is that which is uncontaminated,it is without limit or form or colour and is motionless.It is also naked,luminous and may only be apprehended by itself;it is the Incorporeal and the unchanging Good,which the senses cannot perceive and which may only be known by the effects of its power and energy by someone who is able to comprehend the process of birth in God.[207]

Tat exclaims to Hermes that he is surely capable of this understanding and Hermes explains that Tat must purify himself from the irrational punishments of the material world by the suspension of his physical senses,he will then be able to summon the truth to himself and by his own will see it born in him.[208] Hermes himself goes on to describe the above-mentioned punishments of the material world;they are numerous and terrible,but the main ones are Ignorance, Sadness, Incontinence, Concupiscence, Injustice,Cupidity,Deceit, Envy, Fraud, Anger, Precipitation and Malice.[209] It is because of these twelve punishments that the ordinary man suffers through his bodily senses.

Tat now undergoes the process of regeneration in a reverential religious silence and the Powers of God respond to Tat's will and expel the twelve punishments.Ignorance (*Ignorantia*) is driven out by Divine Knowledge (*Cognitio Dei*),Sadness (*Tristitia*) by Joy (*Gaudium*),Incontinence (*Inconstantia*) by Continence (*Constantia*), Injustice (*Iniustitia*) by Justitia (*Iustitia*), Cupidity (*Cupiditas*) by Continence (*Continentia*),Envy (*Invidia*) by Good (*Bonum*),Fraud (*Fraus*) by Light (*Lumen*),Anger (*Ira*) by Life (*Vita*) and Deceit (*Deceptio*) by Truth (*Veritas*).[210] The coming of Truth brings with it the unchanging Good which is accompanied by Life and Light,finally,the remaining punishments,Precipitation (*Temeritas*) and Malice (*Malitia*) are also expelled,but by what Powers no mention is made.It is interesting to note that Ficino translated Incontinence as "Inconstancy" and omitted Concupiscence,replacing it with *Luxuria*,which would have been expelled by *Castitas*.[211] After all this,with the process of regeneration now completed,Tat is led out of the *Tabernaculum* by Hermes,and the ten Powers sing through Tat the Hymn of Regeneration.In his commentary on the thirteenth treatise of the Corpus Hermeticum Ficino compares Tat's experience of regeneration with the Christian experience of being born again in Christ,who is the Word and the Son of God,and it may be argued that Tat's regeneration amounts to a gift of grace that nullifies the predestination of the stars.[212]

In The Triumph of Virtue [Fig.4] four of the

twelve punishments described in the Corpus Hermeticum, namely, *Ignorantia, Luxuria, Malitia,* and *Fraus*,have been adopted and portrayed as Vices.Their number has been swelled by the addition of *Avaricia, Ingratitudo, Odium, Mala* (three grades),*Otium* and *Inertia*.It would be especially important for a member of the nobility to avoid *Otium* which was regarded as the source of virtually all the other vices that one could fall prey to.[213] The effective antidote for *Otium* was the full occupation of both mind and body in edifying activities which,indeed,would be nourished by the twelve Powers described in the thirteenth treatise of the Corpus Hermeticum,and whose entry is personified here by Minerva [Figs.4 and 5] as the supreme embodiment of *virtù*.

Avaricia and *Ingratitudo* would be apt companions of *Ignorantia* because they are the vices that find a ready reception in shallow minds.In The Triumph of Virtue [Fig. 4] *Avaricia* is wading through the stagnant water with *Ingratitudo*,they both carry the heavy,corpulent and flaccid figure of *Ignorantia*.The crown on *Ignorantia's* head is reminiscent of a similar crown worn by the figure portrayed as enthroned in Zoan Andrea's engraving of Mantegna's Virtus Combusta (1490-1500).[214] In Mantegna's original design for the Virtus Combusta Ignorance is crowned to show that she rules the world,a sentiment that had been caustically iterated by Mantegna in one of his letters to the *Marchese* Francesco II Gonzaga,in the phrase,*Virtuti semper adversatur ignorantia*".[215] This phrase appears

again in the lower companion-design for the Virtus Combusta,namely,the Virtus Deserta (also engraved by Zoan Andrea,1490-1500),but abbreviated to "*VIRTUTI/ S.A.I.*"[216]

In his De Oratore,Cicero had exhorted the prudent individual to reject *Luxuria* if he or she wished to avoid Avarice,"*Avaritiam tollere si vultis,mater eius tollenda est luxuries*".[217] However,the direct antonym of *Luxuria* is *Castitas* and this is surely what is implied in The Triumph of Virtue where *Luxuria* has been portrayed as the *Venus Impudica*,in the form of a fashionably-coiffured young woman riding on the back of a centaur [Fig.4].One may note here that the form of the bearded centaur's head is similar to the male heads shown in the two-sheet engraving of the Battle of the Sea-Gods,especially in the foliate form of the ears.[218]

In the centre-left foreground of The Triumph of Virtue [Fig.4],*Otium,Inertia* and *Mala* retreat from the advancing Minerva [Figs.4,5 and 6].*Otium*,portrayed as white-haired,obese and with stumps for arms (indicating an inability or absolute aversion to toil) is being led away (as said earlier) by *Inertia*.The figure of *Mala* is the most intriguing,being depicted as a simian hermaphrodite (with a single breast) and carrying three small bags or pouches.The monkey is not only a traditional figure of lust but also of malicious deeds, and, indeed, the small bags are labelled *Mala,Peiora* and *Pessima*,indicting that they contain the seeds of successively worse evils.There is also another small bag containing the seeds of *Discordia*. Appropriately

enough,the figure is labelled *Immortale Odium/Fraus et Malitiae* and additionally,*Suspicio*.As far as literary source-material is concerned,it is possible that this conflation of qualities of evil and malice has been inspired by St.Jerome's Contra Jovinianum as well as by the thirteenth treatise of the Corpus Hermeticum.[219] Not only this but also Boccaccio,in his Genealogie Deorum,describes *Fraus* (the seventh daughter of Erebus, the god of darkness) as having a totally hairy body (*horridum corpus*) with a tail that ends in a scorpion's sting.It would have been a straightforward matter for Mantegna to render *Mala* as a hairy monkey by adopting Boccaccio's description for *Fraus* and retain the general sense of a congenial image.[220] Jerome relates how erotic love not only involves itself in suspicion but also engenders hatred of itself and finally becomes hatred.This view of St.Jerome's may also account for the odd,hybrid appearance of some of the flying *Amores* that are to be seen above the retreating female satyr.Four of them have, respectively,the head of a bird,an owl,a monkey and one of a mature man with a moustache.All of thse motifs may be indications of the negative traits of erotic love.[221] The remainder bear the more obvious attributes of *Luxuria* or the *Venus Impudica*; the first two *Amores* carry bows,the next the yellow *cestus Veneris*,the one after that arrows and a quiver,finally,the fifth is bearing the *retia Veneris* (rendered in gold) which has been torn.It should be mentioned that three of the strangely-headed *Amores* are carrying the strands of another torn *retia Veneris*,

while the one with the bird's head carries a sword and a shield.

The ultimate focus of Minerva's action is the freeing of the prisoner held within the massive "fortress" of heavy stone that looms up,cliff like,on the extreme right of the composition [Fig.4].One may also observe that it has an entrance which has been sealed up with orange-red bricks.It is certainly the case that what is symbolized here is the imprisonment of the higher faculties of the mind and spirit by the superficially attractive vices of the earthly,sensual and material world.The stone structure represents the hold that the Vices have on the mind and spirit;with the expulsion of the Vices will come the liberation of the mind and spirit which will then be thus receptive to the positive healing powers of the Virtues (or the Powers).The process of enlightenment and regeneration described by Hermes to Tat will then take place.

There has been some disagreement as to the identity of the imprisoned character.I am in agreement with those scholars who believe it to be *Veritas* rather than *Prudentia*.[222] It is true that she designates herself as "Virtutu[m] matri",but Cicero,in his De Legibus, describes the *mater omnium bonarum rerum* as *Sapientia*,not *Prudentia* and it would be stretching a point somewhat to label the immured character as *Prudentia*.For all that she may have been queen of the Liberal Arts,*Prudentia* was not as highly regarded in the ancient world as *Sapientia*,surely the highest and most valuable form of *Veritas*.[223] Furthermore,neither

Paride da Ceresara,Isabella d'Este,nor Mantegna could have been unaware of the supreme regard given to wisdom in the Old Testament,as stated in Proverbs,where much space is given to *Sapientia* (esp. Ch.III,v.13,where *Sapientia* is given precedence over *Prudentia*).[224] *Sapientia* itself would properly be regarded as one of the qualities of Minerva,therefore,what one sees here is the imprisoned *Veritas* which will supplant the *Deceptio* of the Vices.It is interesting to note that Nicholas Webb has argued for Minerva being a personification of *Prudentia* and hence to be a particular and personal reference to Isabella d'Este.By linking this argument with Trissino's description of Isabella's portrait in his Ritratti,Webb has used a somewhat *terminus post quem* argument (see above).I am also not convinced that Minerva is looking directly up at the Virtues in the cloud-like *mandorla* [Fig.4].[225]

Minerva has been conventionally portrayed in an *all'antica* costume [Fig.5].However,this has not prevented Mantegna from providing the viewer with a vividly-presented image.The draperies,of yellow,pink and pale-green (with a white under-robe),have been highlighted with gold and present the shot-silk effect of the *colori cangianti* that are so characteristic of Mantegna's late style.This portrayal was probably inspired by Apuleius' description of the drapery of the goddess to whom Lucius prayed to be restored to human form from that of an ass (one of the goddess' eleven names,as mentioned before,was Cecropian Minerva),in the Golden Ass (Book XI).The draperies are described as

being of the finest linen showing various colours; namely,shining white, crocus-yellow and rosy-red (and also,"flaming somewhere").[226] The burnished breastplate is decorated with a pattern of scrolled foliate stems and sports a winged *gorgoneion*,while the helmet is embossed with a design that owes much to the reliefs on antique sarcophagi which depict battle-scenes,and is topped by a crest of feathers in vivid coral-red.The shield is not,as has been described,a pointed oval but is the conventional heater (or flatiron) shape shown in foreshortened view.[227] Finally,the goddess has been furnished with curious open-toed buskins of an indeterminate material [Fig.5].This motif was again probably derived from Apuleius' description (Book XI of the Golden Ass) of the goddess' feet "covered with shoes interlaced".[228]

Minerva was the most formidable embodiment of *virtù* and as such would be (for the reasons given above) the most appropriate personification of many of the Powers described by Hermes to Tat in the thirteenth treatise of the Corpus Hermeticum and as translated by Ficino.[229] Above all,it would be correct that the goddess who first and foremost is associated with wisdom and learning should embody not only the *Cognitio Dei* that drives out *Ignorantia*,but also *Constantia, Continentia, Lumen* and *Vita* that drive out *Inconstantia, Cupiditas, Fraus* and *Ira*,along with *Otium* the root of all the other vices.

One would not dispute the identity of the moral Virtues portrayed in the cloud-like *mandorla* that

hovers above the scene of the action. *Temperantia, Iustitia* and *Fortitudo* await the occasion to return after Minerva has completed her task.As far as the remaining figures are concerned,Lightbown is correct in describing the nymphs who follow *Luxuria* (the *Venus Impudica*) as her attendants,as their accoutrements and their attitudes are hardly in accordance with being assistants of Minerva [Fig.4].[230] One is as brightly clad as Minerva herself and they are running virtually abreast,a compositional device that emphasizes their forward movement.The nymph nearest to the viewer is dressed in draperies of azure and yellow (highlighted with purple) and carries a bow and a full quiver.The other nymph is dressed in a shade of olive-green and bears a smouldering torch.The bow,arrows and torch are symbols of the hazards of erotic love.The female satyr (with family) that is behind the nymphs has been mentioned earlier and is a conventional portrayal of lustful fecundity.The little swarm of *Amores* that flies above these figures has been described already.

There is a further *Amor*,bearing two lit torches (again,symbolic of the ardour of erotic love) who appears to be pirouetting on the right shoulder of the satyr carrying the *Amor* who has lost his wings,although this may be an effect of perspective.Almost parallel with these and in the middle-background are two nymphs with garlanded heads,one is carrying a bow.These are probably further attendants of *Luxuria*.

The sky and the landscape in The Triumph of Virtue are worthy of some comment [Fig.4].In both of these

motifs Mantegna reveals the possible influence of the Flemish masters.The landscape fades into pale blue in the extreme distance in a manner which imitates the aerial perspective of the Northern artists.The sky itself is dazzling and recalls the silvery light of Mantua in its predominant shades of white and azure,only becoming a noticeably darker shade of blue at the very top level of the composition.The large mass of cumulus cloud near (in perspective) the looming mountain,and on the mid-left of the picture,has provoked speculation on account of the two male heads in profile that may be discerned in its mass.[231] One head is virtually obscuring the profile of the other.If a careful look is taken at this nearer head it will be seen that has long ears,it may be that this is *Invidia* or Error being dissipated by the action below.It will be recalled that in the engraving of the Virtus Combusta,Error is shown with long ears.[232]

It is unlikely that the tiny female figures that may be seen through the last "arch" of the tall hedge are of any symbolic significance.Tiny figures in the middle or far distance of a composition are a familiar device of Mantegna's to emphasize spatial recession.The tall hedge itself (which appears to be composed of either rowan or bay-laurel in flower) is strikingly-rendered and presents the appearance of an aqueduct.However,the probable inspiration for the form of the hedge was the structural articulation of an ampitheatre,most probably the one at Verona [Fig.31],although it is just possible that it could

have been another similar to that at Pompeii [Fig.32].One must now consider the possibility of visual wit in the Parnassus.

If there is an element of visual wit in the Parnassus [Fig.1] it probably lies in the perspectival grouping of Mercury and the twin-peaked small mountain with the stream cascading down it.The stream is probably *Castalia*,which according to legend was the fountain situated on the slope of Parnassus near Delphi in Phocis and was sacred to Apollo and the Muses.[233] Its name was directly derived from that of the daughter of Archelous,who threw herself into the fountain in order to escape the pursuit of Apollo.The Castalian waters were endowed with the properties of purification for those who bathed in them and of poetic inspiration for those who drank from them.The name *Castalia* is very similar to the Italian noun,*castaldo*,which means "steward" and,occasionally,"watchman".Bearing in mind all that has been said so far concerning the Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue it would be appropriate to see Mercury,in his embodiment as Hermes Trismegistus,as guarding the entrance to the world of higher things.This matter will be returned to later.

What one hopes to demonstrate here is that the Parnassus is not merely (or even at all) about the perils of adulterous relationships (however subtly portrayed) but that its theme is more profound and draws mainly upon the more arcane themes of astrology and the cosmos that were dealt with by Ficino and by Pico della Mirandola,and which were used by Paride da

Ceresara in his *invenzione* for the Parnassus (and for The Triumph of Virtue).

The Corpus Hermeticum and all that it inspired in the Humanists of the Early Renaissance was the result of literary sources being misdated.This example was not an isolated one.Hermes Trismegistus was the most important of the *Prisci Theologi/Prisci Magi*, however, there were others:Orpheus and Zoroaster had achieved a similar status to Hermes Trismegistus as a result of the content of the documents associated with them being misconstrued.[234]

The work in question,as far as the character of Orpheus is concerned,is the so-called Hymns of Orpheus,a corpus of writings (the Orphica) thought to be by Orpheus "himself" but which in reality dated from sometime between the second and third centuries A.D. and was an aggregate of writings by various anonymous authors.This sort of writing touched upon the more magical,alchemical and astrological aspect of the Hermetic literature.Ficino,who was the son of a physician and practising physician himself as well as being a priest,was greatly attracted to the ideas and methods involved in the sympathetic magic contained in such works as the Orphica and the Picatrix.[235] What these ideas amounted to were methods of either drawing down (by invocations or talismans) the beneficial forces which were part of the powers of the universe or a means by which the adept could rid himself of the evil material power of the stars as he ascended through the planetary spheres to the Ogdoadic state.In both

cases the fundamental presupposition was that anyone with the requisite knowledge could channel and employ the power which was latent in the continual effluvia of influences that came down to earth from the stars above.All of this teaching (and especially the Hellenistic astrological system with its description of the thirty-six decans which governed all life-forms born within the time-periods over which each decan presided) was incorporated in Ficino's Libri de Vita,published in 1489.[236]

It is not surprising that Ficino should write thus.In the same way as with the concept of the historical process the Renaissance witnessed a strong continuity between antique and mediaeval thinking and its own.As well as employing similar methods for the invocation of astral and planetary forces,and for the classification of natural substances,antique,mediaeval and Renaissance thinking depended upon identical astrological presuppositions.[237] What one is dealing with here,as far as the Renaissance is concerned,is a system of pneumatic magic,integrated into a complex philosophical system that was linked with Neoplatonism,which held that there was a spiritual conduit connecting the earthly material world with the higher,celestial,Ogdoadic one.This reinvestment of the old astral magic in Neoplatonic theurgy paralleled the reinvestment of the gods of antiquity in their authentic Classical visual form.[238]

For Ficino,Orpheus was second only to Hermes Trismegistus in the order of *Prisci Theologi*.[239] As

with Hermes,Orpheus was regarded as an important precursor to Plato and a source of inspiration for the latter.The Orphic Hymns associated with Orpheus were gnostic and incantatory in nature and content.Their function was to invoke the powers of the astral (and planetary) gods,in particular *Sol*,by addressing them by their various names.[240] Ficino himself sang the Orphic Hymns,in private,and probably to his own accompamiment on a *lira da braccio*.There is no doubt that Ficino believed that he was carrying out the practice of an ancient theologian,one who,moreover,had foreseen the Trinity.It is thought that the aural and vocal magic which is described in the De vita coelitus comparanda (Book III of the Libri de Vita) is probably the same as the Orphic hymn-singing,certainly one finds the same sympathetic magic with its talismans and classifications of natural substances.[241]

There can be little doubt that Ficino regarded the Orphic Hymns as being part of *magia naturalis*,an incantatory magic addressed to the stars and the planets as sidereal and planetary gods,the powers of the world.However,the arguments of Augustine of Hippo (mentioned earlier) could not be forgotten.Although Ficino did not come into open conflict with the Church authorities over his writings,he nevertheless felt it necessary to emphasize that his magic was natural and not demonic.In the Apologia for his Libri de Vita,Ficino stressed that the priests of the Egyptian,Chaldean and Persian civilisations frequently practised medicine,which always involved astrology;also

Christ Himself had been a healer.[242] Furthermore,Ficino made it clear that he practised nothing but natural magic and that demonic magic was unmitigatedly wicked.As if to reinforce this position,Ficino emphasized that his talismans were formulated beneath a harmony that was similar to the celestial harmony.[243]

In the Parnassus [Fig.1] one may see a youthful male figure playing a stringed instrument.He is seated on the left of a circle of dancing female figures,nine in number.He is also singing,as are some of the dancing female figures.Stivini's inventory of 1542 is correct in designating the youthful male figure as Orpheus.[244] In a painting which portrays virtually all of the *all'antica* characters with their proper attributes,it should be noted that there is no laurel crown on the head of the young male figure which would surely be the case if he were Apollo.It is also correct that Orpheus is shown here with Mercury (albeit as Hermes Trismegistus) for besides Orpheus being second in eminence only to Hermes Trismegistus it was Mercury who gave the lyre to Orpheus after having invented it.The instrument itself is somewhat of a hybrid between a cithara and a lyre;this portrayal could be visual licence on Mantegna's part,as in the Triumphs of Caesar (as Martindale has pointed out) some very curious and,in fact,unplayable bagpipes have been depicted.[245] What one sees here is Orpheus playing and singing the incantatory Hymns that were associated with him to the sidereal and planetary gods.One may also recall that Ficino's *lira da braccio* was decorated with a scene of

Orpheus taming the animals with his music and songs.[246] This detail of mythology would account for the presence of the hares (rabbits?) and the squirrel in the foreground of the composition [Fig.1].These animals are noted for their shyness,but here Orpheus' melody has tamed them sufficiently for them to appear in the open.[247]

Orpheus is associated with the Muses and,indeed,he is referred to as the son of the Muse,Calliope.It is also the case that following his dreadful fate at the hands of the Bacchantes the Muses gathered Orpheus' dismembered body and gave it a proper burial.The dancing female figures which occupy the middle ground of the composition,adjacent to Orpheus,have the appearance of nymphs (as described in Stivini's inventory),however,they are nine in number,the correct number for the Muses.The presence of Mercury,Orpheus and the Castalian stream would make it virtually certain that they are the Muses,those inspirers of poets and musicians.They are without distinguishing attributes and have been portrayed in such a way as to give a rhythmically sensual display of partly-bared limbs clothed in *all'antica* draperies of red, blue, yellow and olive-green [Fig.1].It may be the case that Mantegna has symbolized the Four Elements with these colours,but this cannot be verified.The poses have also been skilfully varied:profile,three-quarter profile, rear and full-face views.The Muses link themselves in their dance either by their hands or by ribbons of drapery.Originally,they were all shown singing,however

(as mentioned earlier),a skilled and sympathetic restorer has "closed" some of their mouths (it should also be said that it is probably the same restorer who altered the position of the head of the Muse nearest Orpheus from one of *profil perdu* to that of left profile).As the Muses have no individual attributes it is reasonable to see them as representing in general those higher arts that a higher state of mind engages in.Mantegna may have drawn upon "common knowledge" and his own knowledge of antique figurative motifs for his rendering of the Muses as Boccaccio's description in the Genealogie Deorum gives specific details of the Muses (their names and their individual properties) as well as mentioning Castalia and Helicon.[248]

Pico himself,in his *Conclusiones Orphicae*,stated unequivocally that Orphic singing was natural magic and that the hymns of Orpheus were unmatched in efficaciousness as an aid to the adept in *magia naturalis*,especially if sung to appropriate music and also if the soul of the adept was correctly disposed.[249] Not only this but also Pico emphasized that the name of the gods of which Orpheus sang about were not those of demons out to deceive the adept but those of the divine and natural virtues which are immanent throughout the world.[250]

Pico's importance (as was said earlier) in Renaissance culture lies in,amongst other things,in his bringing Cabbalist magic to the realm of *magia naturalis*.There was a crucial difference between the two kinds of magic:the latter drew upon the immanent

spiritus mundi,but the former was a way of drawing upon those higher powers that were beyond the natural powers of the cosmos.The invocatory process of the Cabbala involved Angels and Archangels,the Ten Sephiroth (i.e. the Names and Powers of God) and God Himself.[251] Unlike Ficino,whose grasp of Hebrew is thoroughly debatable, Pico was either fluent in the language or had at least a very sound working knowledge of it.It is possible that his teachers in the Hebrew language were two close friends,Elia del Medigo and Flavius Mithridates,eminent Jewish scholars who supplied Pico with the requisite books and manuscripts relating to the Cabbala.[252] As well as this material,Pico already possessed some knowledge of the Zohar and of the mystical commentary on the Song of Solomon,and was aware of the techniques of letter-combination used by the thirteenth-century Jewish-Spanish scholar,Abraham Abulafia.[253]

The great value of Hebrew and Cabbalist studies for Pico lay in his steadfast belief that they confirmed the Divinity of Christ and the doctrine of the Trinity as well as providing a deeper understanding of the Christian Faith.When Pico wrote his 72 *Conclusiones Cabalisticae*,the introduction stated that they confirmed the Christian religion from the foundations of Hebrew wisdom.[254]

Pico would have drawn upon the Cabbala as it had developed in Spain during the Middle Ages.[255] The doctrine expounded by the Cabbala centred around the Ten Sephiroth and the 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet.[256] The Sephiroth were the ten names most

common to God and in their totality they composed His one great Name.[257] Furthermore,the Sephiroth were the creative names which were called into the world by God and the created universe was the outward manifestation of the power of the Sephiroth present in God.[258] All of this doctrine was set out in the so-called Sefer Yetzirah or Book of Creation which probably dates from between the third and the sixth centuries A.D.(i.e. possibly contemporary with the Corpus Hermeticum).[259] The Sephiroth were also frequently referred to in the Zohar which was written in Spain sometime during the thirteenth century and represents the tradition of Spanish Cabbalism during the High Middle Ages.[260]

The Sephiroth,in their creative rôle,were closely connected with cosmology and especially with the ten spheres of the Ptolomaic cosmos (i.e. the seven spheres of the planets,that of the fixed stars and also the highest spheres beyond these).The other central aspect of the Cabbala was the prominence given to the angels as intermediaries or interlocutors between the adept and God.These angels were ordered in a hierarchy which corresponded closely to that of the ten spheres.There was also an identical hierarchy of demons or evil angels which mirrored that of the good angels.[261]

The 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet also comprised the Name of God and manifested the creative language of God as well as revealing the spiritual nature of the world.[262] Therefore,the Cabbalist,by contemplating the Sephiroth and the Hebrew alphabet,was contemplating God Himself and His works by virtue of

the power of the names.All of the above was intimately concerned with the interpretation of the Old Testament, particularly the Book of Genesis.

The Sephiroth and the Hebrew alphabet constitute the two spiritual Paths of the Cabbala.[263] It is the former that is especially relevant here as far as the Parnassus is concerned [Fig.1].As was said earlier,Pico saw a connection between the Corpus Hermeticum and the Cabbala.This connection existed in the apparent correspondence between the two works concerning the expulsion of the evil material forces by the corresponding good Powers or Virtues of God.The Cabbalistic theme of purification and regeneration matched that related in the Corpus Hermeticum.Pico held that the Cabbalist underwent the same experience as the Hermetist when the Ten Sephiroth drove out the evil powers and then took up abode in his soul.[264] After this the adept or Cabbalist then sang the Ogdoadic hymn of regeneration.[265] This ascent of the soul through the spheres of the cosmos is also related in the Hekhaloth literature (a forerunner of the Cabbala) where the very word "Ogdoas" (that region where the Powers and Virtues of God enter the soul) has been translated into Hebrew.[266]

Pico never made a secret of his belief in the Cabbala,whether theoretical or practical,and that no *magia naturalis* could possibly be authentically efficacious without it.[267] As far as Pico was concerned,the Cabbala was greatly superior to any sympathetic magic.It was a spiritual magic,a means of

drawing upon,in a gnostic way,those divine powers which were beyond the natural powers of the cosmos. Moreover,Hermetism and Cabbalism corroborated each other through the theme of the Word as agent of the Creation (the Pimander and the Book of Genesis). Finally, throughout his *Conclusiones*, Apologia and the Oration,De hominis dignitate,Pico stresses the need for practical Cabbala to supplement the *magia naturalis* as the performance of authentic Cabbala is effected with the intellectual part of the soul and not merely by the natural *spiritus* (i.e. in the case of *magia naturalis*).[268]

Pico wrote 72 *Conclusiones Cabalisticae*,of which *Conclusiones* 48 and 66 are the most relevant here as source-material for the *invenzione* of the Parnassus [Fig.1].[269] In the former *Conclusione* Pico set out the relationship or correspondence between the Ten Sephiroth and the ten spheres of the Ptolomaic cosmos.[270] The Sephiroth (or Numerations) were as follows; "Kether","Hokhmah","Binah","Hesod","Gevurah", "Rahimin","Netsch","Hod","Yesod" and "Malkuth".In the numerical order from one to ten,"Kether" was number one,with the rest in the same order up to "Malkuth" which was number ten.[271] Pico's rendering of the order of the spheres is somewhat muddled,however,the corresponding order of the spheres according to him is;the *Empyrean*,the *Primum mobile*,the *Firmamentum*, Jupiter, Mars,*Sol*,Saturn,Venus,Mercury and Luna.It is interesting to note that Pico has placed the *Primum mobile* second and placed Saturn seventh,whereas the

Primum mobile should (obviously) be first and Saturn third.[272]

By virtue of their relationship with the ten spheres of the cosmos,the Ten Sephiroth (and the Cabbala as a whole) form a theosophical system which is related to the universe.Therefore,Cabbalist magic may be regarded as a superior form of *magia naturalis* which draws upon those higher spiritual forces which are properly connected with the stars.

In the latter (66th) *Conclusione Cabalisticae*,Pico relates how he will adapt "our soul/mind/spirit" to the Ten Sephiroth by defining them.[273] Thus "Kether" is "Unity", "Hokhmah" is "Intellect","Binah" is "Understanding", "Gevurah" is "Higher (or Divine) Wrath","Rahimin" is "Free Will","Netsch" is "That which Changes the Nature of all Things to a Higher State","Hod" is "That which Changes the Nature of all Things to a Lower State","Yesod" is "Miscellaneous Powers or Potentialities" and "Malkuth" is "That Power which joins with That of the First" (i.e. "Kether").Therefore,according to Pico,Mars signifies Higher (or Divine) Wrath,Venus is That which Changes the Nature of all Things to a Lower State and Mercury represents Miscellaneous Powers or Potentialities.

This correspondence of the planetary spheres with the Sephiroth,as set out by Pico,makes matters very intriguing for an interpretation of the compositional arrangement of Mars, Venus and Mercury in the Parnassus [Fig.1];Mars and Venus are standing in front of a luxurious couch which is shaded by the boughs of an

orange tree,the whole group occupying the flat summit of a rocky arch that recalls a similar motif in the *Camera Picta* frescoes (in the so-called Meeting scene,Figs.19 and 23).Mars and Venus stand close together with their left and right hands (respectively) lightly joined,and their relaxed poses very closely mirror each other making a sort of *mandorla* shape.The manner of the respective poses of Mars and Venus implies some sort of harmony or reconciliation.On the extreme right of the composition [Figs.1 and 2] stands Mercury (with Pegasus) as the embodiment of Hermes Trismegistus.His gaze is directed broadly towards Mars and Venus (and the other figures).

In his rôle as Hermes Trismegistus,Mercury [Fig.2] represents the enlightened higher state of mind that all those who would wish to enter the Ogdoadic region of regeneration and harmony must attain.He stands as a watchful and alert steward to guard the entrance to the world of higher things.In view of this rôle it is appropriate that Pico should see Mercury as signifying or corresponding with "Yesod",the ninth Sephiroth which represents Miscellaneous Powers or Potentialities,as Mercury had the power to inspire (as aforementioned) men to great achievements in eloquence and in the arts (especially poetry and music).Thus it is clear that Paride da Ceresara has conflated the first treatise of the "Corpus Hermeticum with the 48th and 66th *Conclusiones Cabalisticae* of Pico in his *invenzione* for the Parnassus.

Mars and Venus are portrayed as authentic

all'antica figures with the conventional attributes [Fig.1].The armour that is worn by Mars is much the same as that depicted by Mantegna in the Eremetani fresco-cycle and is probably based on an Antique cuirass-statue.The feathered crest that adorns Mars' helmet is in Mantegna's usual shade of coral-red,and the helmet-skull itself is rendered in dark-grey which would suggest iron or steel.The leather strips (*pteryges*) that hang beneath the dark golden-bronze cuirass (*lorica*) are a dark shade of slate-blue and they rest on a lower tunic of coral-red.In his right hand Mars bears a lance and the long,ankle-length cloak that is suspended from his shoulders plunges down behind him in a flowing course of deep rose-pink folds.The sandals and the contoured greaves are the same colour as the cuirass.Venus has been portrayed in a *contrapposto* pose that (as with Mars) recalls a source-figure from antique sculpture or coins.She stands nude,with only a pair of armlets that recall those worn by *Luxuria* in The Triumph of Virtue,and with a ribbon of golden drapery that curls about her limbs and floats to her left in two decorative loops.In her right hand Venus is holding an arrow furnished with a golden head,the arrow is pointing towards the ground indicating the extinguishing of erotic love.The couch before which Mars and Venus are standing was probably inspired by an antique *lectisternium* portrayed in sculpture or on coinage.It has been suggested that the colours of the hangings of the couch are an heraldic reference to the Gonzaga household and that the colours

of Mars' costume and the ribbon worn by Venus also refer heraldically to the Gonzaga-d'Este marriage.This assertion should be treated with caution.[274]

The expressions on the faces of Mars and Venus imply reconciliation and harmony.The fact that Venus is holding the arrow point downwards would indicate that,for the moment,there is no liklihood of the passions of erotic love being ignited as a result of a heart being pierced by it.[275] This particular passion would be inappropriate in the region of higher thoughts and activities that the Parnassus represents.Thus it is that the Higher (or Divine) Wrath represented in the figure of Mars has been averted or placated by Venus (representing That which Changes the Nature of all Things to a Lower State,i.e. having the power to be an interlocutor between the Ogdoadic world and Mercury,and the lower,earthly world) suppressing or withdrawing the means of earthly passions arising.

The figures of *Amor*,Vulcan and Pegasus remain to be considered [Figs.1,2 and 3].*Amor* has been conventionally depicted.He is nude and carries a bow in in the left hand while holding a long,slender reed-like instrument in his right.One may just discern the bottom of a coral-red quiver that is slung on *Amor's* back and also the tips of his butterfly-like wings.The reed-like instrument,rendered in a pale shade of red,is being blown in the manner of a pea-shooter at the figure of Vulcan [Fig.3].

At this point an element of controversy creeps in,for it in the context of all that has been said

concerning the literary sources of the *invenzione* of the Parnassus the figure portrayed here is Anteros,the half-brother of Cupid and the result of the illicit union between Mars and Venus. Anteros (as his name clearly suggests) is the opponent of the erotic love which Cupid himself provokes in mortal and vulnerable souls.However,in a composition that is a visual expression of carefully conflated literary sources,one is not dealing with a cautionary or celebratory rendition of adulterous activity,as has been suggested.[276] Regardless of whether Anteros is "contrary to nature" or merely appears to be,it is perfectly appropriate that he should be here,for it is his role to provoke souls to forsake erotic love (and lust) in order to pursue more edifying activities.I am in agreement with those scholars who cite Hedo's Antierotica as the literary source for this character.[277]

There has been some comment about the line which has been drawn from Anteros' "pea-shooter" to the tip of Vulcan's penis.[278] What needs to be said here is that it is quite appropriate for Anteros to awaken the higher faculties of Vulcan in a suitably emphatic way.

Vulcan stands before the cave entrance with his lit forge and the tools of his craft arrayed with him [Fig.3].However,one is not seeing the *faber deformis* of Albericus,nor one of the Vulcans described by Boccaccio (i.e. the deformed son of Jupiter and Juno and who was cuckolded by Mars).[279] Rather one is seeing the Vulcan who fathered Apollo,who is also the brother of Saturn

and who is associated with fires and inexhaustible vigour,as Boccaccio also relates.[280] He has been portrayed as being somewhat smaller than the other figures (Anteros excepted) partly in order to emphasize spatial recession and partly because his rôle is relatively subsidiary to that of the other characters.

Vulcan's manual gesture and facial expression indicate surprise,not anger [Fig.3].He is not making the sign of the cuckolded husband at Mars and Venus.The *cornuta* sign is made with the index and little fingers,not with the thumb and forefinger (as is depicted).[281] The character one sees here portrayed by Mantegna is a conflation of Vulcan and Tubal-Cain,both of whom had been very closely-associated with each other since the late Middle Ages as legendary craftsmen and teachers of the arts to men.[282] They were both makers of many things in metal and taught men the art of making fire.Vulcan was honoured by the Romans in a festival called the *Tubilustria*,whereas Tubal-Cain was referred to in the Legenda Aurea as the Old Testament son of Lamech who by the rhythmn of the blows of his forging-hammers inspired Jubal to discover the laws of musical harmony.[283] It is worth noting at this point that while working on the Eremitani frescoes Mantegna would have become thoroughly familiar with the cycle of the Liberal Arts (now lost) painted by Giusto of Padua in the Cappella di Sant'Agostino which was also in the Chiesa degli Eremitani and included a portrait of Tubal-Cain.[284]

The fire that flares in Vulcan's forge is not the

fire of lust or anger but of creativity.[285] Having been abruptly aroused to creative activity by Anteros,Vulcan has all the apparatus ready for the tasks in hand.One may notice a coil of wire near to his anvil,hammer and tongs [Fig.3] and a further skein of silvery-grey wires suspended from the roots of a shrub that is growing above the entrance to the cave.Far from being a visual allusion to the net that Vulcan (in another myth) is about to weave so as to snare Mars and Venus,the skein of wires reminds one of the fine-quality steel wire,imported from Munich,that was used by Lorenzo Gusnasco of Pavia to string the fine instruments that he made for Isabella d'Este and her sister,Beatrice.[286] The importance of music at Ferrara and Mantua during Isabella's reign as *Marchesana* is such as to need no further emphasis.[287]

The figure of Pegasus,standing next to Mercury (Hermes Trismegistus),has probably been drawn from the general description given by Boccaccio in his Genealogie Deorum.[288] He exhibits an interesting and enduring stylistic trait of Mantegna's in that the wings,mane,"beard",and the thick line of hair which runs down the centre-front of the neck of Pegasus as far as the bottom of the chest,are highlighted with gold [Fig.2].There is more gold to be seen in the form of a harness made of light gold wire which has been ornamented with prominent beads.If the colours are any indication,the beads could be *cabouchon* cut gems (rubies,sapphires and diamonds;however,the "diamonds" could be crystal) as well as glass,but this is

uncertain.The harness itself is a reference to the golden bridle that Pallas gave to Bellerophon so that he could catch and tame Pegasus in readiness for the fight with the Chimaera.It is the beads,however,which have caused comment.Williams/Lehmanns has argued that they are a punning visual reference to the fifteen stars that compose the constellation "Pegasus",the inspiration here being the works of Ovid (the Fasti),Aratus and Hyginus.[289] I cannot find myself in agreement with this argument.The number of beads is not fifteen but sixteen,as Lightbown has pointed out (the sixteenth bead is hidden by the foreshortened hand of Mercury),furthermore,the motif of a harness ornamented with beads could have been an idea that Mantegna gleaned from the Triumphs of Caesar;in the fifth canvas one may see that the elephant nearest the viewer has a sort of "bead harness" ornamenting its left ear.[290]

The presence of Orpheus with the Muses makes it unlikely that there is any visual reference to Mount Helicon,the place where Pegasus struck the fountain of Hippocrene with his hoof.Nor is it necessarily the case (in view of all that has been said so far) that Pegasus has raised his left hoof in order to stop the song of the Muses by stamping it on the ground.However,Pegasus was seen as a symbol of poetry in the Renaissance,moreover,as Pegasus was the mount that conveyed poets to the inspiring founts of Castalia or of Hippocrene it is perfectly appropriate that he should be depicted with both Mercury (albeit as Hermes Trismegistus) and Orpheus in the Ogdoadic world of

edifying achievement after regeneration.

Two motifs in the Parnassus remain to be considered;they are both on the far left of the composition [Figs.1 and 3].One is the bundle of bunches of grapes that are suspended from a tree-root very near to the entrance of Vulcan's cave,the other is the two broom-like implements that are lying in the foreground close to Orpheus' feet.Some scholars have interpreted these items as pointed sexual puns.Wind saw the heavy bundle of fruit as an allusion to the "sour grapes" of Vulcan's jealousy at the illicit union of Mars and Venus,with the "brooms" as scourges about to be used in a rite of purgation against the influence of the Philistines represented by Vulcan.[291] Tietze-Conrat in her review of Wind's interpretation of the Parnassus states that the grapes may be a play on the Italian noun *grappolo* or *dolce grappolo*,which can mean a "simpleton",again,a reference to the duped Vulcan.[292] She avoids saying anything definitive about the "brooms".I cannot find myself in agreement with either Wind or Tiezte-Conrat;quite apart from the fact that it should be obvious by now that such crude or salacious references have no place here,the grapes themselves are very definitely the wrong colour to be sour (i.e. unripe) and the character of Vulcan (as portrayed here) is not that of a simpleton.As far as the "brooms" are concerned,Williams-Lehmanns is probably correct in seeing them as identical with the *skoupas* that are used today in rural Greece for the sweeping of bare ground used for dancing on.[293] It has to be admitted that the

precise significance of the grapes (if any) is not readily discerned,I have not been able to trace any further meaning for them from antique sources other than the usual and frequent association with Bacchus or Silenus.[294] It may be the case that they symbolize in some way the fruitfulness of creation or that,in common with the gold highlights on the coat and wings of Pegasus,they are evidence of a lingering stylistic habit of Mantegna's.They are a reminder (albeit in a muted way) of the heavy swags of luscious fruit depicted in the main panels of the San Zeno Altarpiece of so many years earlier.

The Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue were meant to be read conjointly as a fluent visual essay in Hermetic-Cabbalistic teaching clothed in an *all'antica* guise.A theme of purification and regeneration is surely more in keeping with the purpose of Isabella's *studiolo* than facetious exercises in Humanist culture.It may be ironic that a profound error of judgement concerning the chronological significance and relevance of Hermetic and Cabbalistic source-material was made by scholars in the Renaissance,but one should be grateful that such a rich source of inspiration was made available to the scholars and artists of the day.In an age in which Neoplatonist scholars believed that an ancient image which represented and embodied traditional teachings from a remote (and superior) age actually contained the reflection or essence of a given idea,the meditative power of the allegories that Mantegna painted for Isabella d'Este would be readily

appreciated.[295]

In speaking other than they appear to speak,the Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue are striking witnesses to,and manifestations of,the interaction of continuity and change inherent in the historical process.By incorporating the source-materials that it did,Paride da Ceresara's *invenzione* paid due reverence to the past and satisfied the need on his (and on Isabella's) part for an arcane rendering of a theme.The grafting of the main Hermetic-Cabbalistic theme with congenial sources from the antique and from contemporary sources gave Mantegna the opportunity to display his skill (so recently and spectacularly seen in the icongraphical programme of the Triumphs of Caesar) and experience in portraying conflated ideas through visual compositions of gestural subtlety using motifs of authentic antique origin.Isabella herself could enjoy the public satisfaction of owning compositions that fulfilled the strategic need of affirming her custodianship of erudite culture and that were rich inventories of arcane meanings to her peers,and the private edification of contemplating the spiritual and cosmic path that led from earthly vices to a higher world.

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23.Idem.1970,pp.17,58,79,81,105,236,252;1984,pp.117-39.
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27.Idem.1970,pp.241-42,244,248.Semon,R.;Die Mneme als erhältendes Princip im Weschel des organischen Geschehens,Leipzig,1908,passim.
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103.Rôchon,A.;La Jeunesse de Laurent de Médicis (1449-1478),Paris,1963,pp.248-86.

104.A.Poliziano (Ed.V.Pernicone);Stanze cominciate per la giostra di Giuliano de'Medici,Turin,1954,passim,but esp. pp.22,36,73-74 (Libro I,stanzas 46,75,76;Libro II,stanzas 28-30).Maier,I.;Ange Politien:La Formation d'un poete humaniste (1469-1480),Geneva,1966,pp.273-85.Del Lungo,I . "La giostra di Giuliano",Florentia:Uomini e cose del quattrocento,Florence,1897,pp.391-412.
Ruggieri,R.M.;"Letterati,poeti e pittori intorno alla giostra di Guiliano de'Medici",L'umanesimo cavalleresco italiano,Rome,1962,pp.163-98.Welliver,W.;"The Subject and Purpose of Poliziano's Stanze",Italia,Vol.48,1971,pp.34-50.Welliver departs from the position of all the other scholars listed in that he denies that the poem of Poliziano's was named Stanze per la Giostra,etc,or that it celebrated any particular joust.Welliver further asserts that the poem was a barbed criticism,veiled in the guise of a laudatory work,of Giuliano's pusillanimous,lazy and cowardly character which had led him to lead a hedonistic life.The poem was thus a portrayal of Giuliano as he should have been,not as he actually was,according to Welliver.

105.Rôchon,1963,pp.248-86.Gombrich,E.H.;"Botticelli's Mythologies:A Study in the Neoplatonic Symbolism of his Circle",Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,Vol.VIII,London,1945,pp.7-60.Also in Symbolic Images.Studies in the Art of the Renaissance,II, London,1972,1975,pp.31-81.

106.Dempsey,C.;"Mercurius Ver:The Source of Botticelli's Primavera",Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,Vol.XXXI,London,1968,pp.251-73 (251-52). Idem; The Portrayal of Love:Botticelli's Primavera and the Humanist Culture at the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent,Princeton,1992,passim. This work is essentially a considerable expansion of Dempsey's article. Cf. Gallati,B.;"An Alchemical Interpretation of the Marriage between Mercury and Venus",in,Botticelli's Primavera.A Botanical Interpretation including Astrology,Alchemy and the Medici,Ed.M.Levi d'Ancona,Arte e Archeologia.Studi e Documenti,20,Florence,1983,pp.99-121.

107.Massing,1990,pp.180-84. Ekserdjian,D.; Landau,D.; Boorsch,S.; in,Andrea Mantegna,1992,pp.451-46. Förster, 1901, pp.78-87. Panofsky,E,and D;Pandora's Box.The Changing Aspects of a Mythical Symbol,Princeton, 1956,pp.42-48.

108.Cicero (Marcus Tullius Ciceronius);De Natura Deorum, Ed.and trans. H.C.P. MacGregor,Middlesex, 1972, p.216.Gallati,1983,p.112,n.50.Séznec,1953,1972,pp.180 ff.

109.Gallati,1983,p.113.Séznec,1953,1972,pp.180 ff.

110.Gallati,1983,p.112.

111.Séznec,1953,1972,p.254.Gallati,1983,p.112.

112.Cicero,Ed.Cit.,1972,p.216.Gallati,1983,p.112.

113.Boccaccio;Genealogie Deorum Gentilium Libri (Ed.V.Romano).2 Vols,Bari,Laterza,1951 (Scrittori d'Italia,N.200).Vol I,pp.77,81,137 and 367 (Book II,Caps.VII,XII;Book III,Cap.XX;Book VII,Caps. XXXIV,XXXVI.)
114.Séznec,1953,1972,pp.158-59.
115.Ibid.,pp.158-59.
116.Ibid.,pp.158-61,166,188.
117.Ibid.,p.160.
118.Saxl,F.;"Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der Planetendarstellungen im Orient und im Okzident",Der Islam,Vol.III,1912,pp.151-77.Séznec,1953,1972,pp.158-60.
119.Warburg,Ed.Cit.,1966,pp.247-73.
120.Warburg,Ed.Cit.,1966,pp.247-73. Séznec,1953,1972,pp.53-56,62,160,182.Picatrix (*Ghayat al Hakim*),Arabic text ed.H.Ritter,Studien der Bibliothek Warburg,Vol.XII,1933.German trans.by H.Ritter and M.Plessner,Studies of the Warburg Institute, Vol. 27, London,1962.Latin Ed.D.Pingree,Studies of the Warburg Institute,Vol.39,London,1986. Garin,E.;La cultura filosofica del Rinascimento italiano, Florence, 1961, pp.159 ff.Idem,Medioevo e Rinascimento, Florence, 1954,pp.175 ff.Thorndike,L.;A History of Magic and Experimental Science,6 Vols,New York,1923-41, Vol.II, pp.813 ff.Kibre,P.;The Library of Pico della Mirandola,New York,1936,p.263.
121.Warburg,Ed.Cit.,1966,pp.247-73.Gündel,W.;"Dekane und Dekansternbilder",Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, Vol.XIX,1936,passim.
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124.Yates,1964,pp.42-43.Féstugière,Vol.I,1945,p.8.
125.Yates,1964,pp.113-16.Thorndike,Vol.IV,1934,pp.484-511.
126.Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (Gian Francesco Pico),Opera Omnia,Basle,1573.This Facsimile Ed., Hildesheim,1969,2 Vols (Intro. by C.Vasoli),Vol.I,pp.114-240,63-113,also 411-900.Doréz,L.;"Lettres inédités de Jean Pic de la Mirandole",Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana,Vol.XXV,1895,pp.360-61. Doréz,L; Thuasne,L.;Pic de la Mirandole en France, Paris, 1897, passim.Walker,D.P.;Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella,Studies of the Warburg Institute, 22,London,1958,pp.54-55.
127.Saxl,F.;"The Appartamento Borgia",Lectures,2 Vols, London,1945,Vol.I,pp.174-88,Vol.II,plates 115-24.
128.Ibid.,Vol.I,pp.174-88.
129.Kristeller,P.O.;The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino (Eng.trans.V.Conant),New York,1943;Gloucester,Mass. 1964, pp.16-17,25.Yates,1964,pp.12-14.
130.Cicero (Marcus Tullius Ciceronius);De Natura Deorum

(Trans.H.Rackham).I Vol.,Loeb Classical Library,London, New York,1933,pp.339-41 (Book III,v.59.)
131.Boccaccio,Ed.Cit.Vol.I,pp.71-74,219,282 and 365 (Book II,Cap.II;Book IV,Cap.LXIV;Book VI,Cap.XLVIII;Book VII,Cap.XXXI.)
132.Apuleius;**The Golden Ass** (Trans.W.Adlington,1566. Rev.S.Gaselee),1 Vol.,Loeb Classical Library,London, New York,1915,pp.543-47 (Book XI.)
133.Liebenwein,W.;**Studiolo:die Enstehung eines Raumtyps und seine Entwicklung bis um 1600**,Berlin,1977,passim. Verheyen,1971,pp.6-9. Béguin,q.v. Lorenzoni, Mulazzani, Navarrini,Tamassia,1977,passim.
134.Chambers,1970,pp.135-38.
135.Cf.Förster,1901,passim.Lightbown,1986,pp.186-209, 440-43.Wind,1948,pp.3-20.
136.Lightbown,1986,pp.200,265 (n.81).Battisti,1965,pp.42-43.Jones,R.;"What Venus did with Mars:Battista Fiera and Mantegna's Parnassus", **Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes**, Vol.XLIV, London, 1981, pp.193-98. Tatrai,1972,pp.235ff. Christiansen,**Andrea Mantegna,1992**, p.421.
137.Christiansen,**Andrea Mantegna,1992**,pp.418-25.
138.Lightbown,1986,pp.206-07.Christiansen,**Andrea Mantegna 1992**,p.429.
139.Pico,Ed.Cit.,1969,Vol.I,pp.733-900.Marsilio Ficino; **Opera Omnia**, Basle,1576.This Facsimile Ed.(Intro., P.O.Kristeller,Foreword,M.Sancipriano),2 Vols, Turin, 1959,1962 (Monumenta Politica et Philosophica Rariora. Ed.L.Firpo;ser.1,Nos.7,8).Vol.II,pp.1836-1908. Yates,1964,pp.1-128.Féstugière,1944-53,passim.Idem (with A.D.Nock),1945-54,passim.Scott,1924-36,passim. Walker,1958,pp.3-54,145-52.
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141.**Encyclopaedia Britannica** (Macropaedia),30 Vols, Chicago,Geneva,London,Manila,Paris,Rome,Seoul,Sydney, Tokyo,Toronto,1943-73,15th Ed.,1974-82;Vol.13,pp.982-84.
142.Zancani,D.;"Antonio Cornazzano's De l'integrità de la militare arte",**Chivalry in the Renaissance**,(Ed.S.Anglo), Woodbridge,1990,pp.13-24.
143.Ficino,Ed.Cit.,1962,Vol.II,p.1836(Argumentum). Yates,1964,pp.1-18. Pico,Ed.Cit.,1969,Vol.I,pp.733-900.
144.Yates,1964,pp.1-19.Féstugière,Vol.III,1953,pp.1-88,et seq.Idem (with A.D.Nock),Vol.I,1945,pp.V,XLVII-L. Vol.II, 1945,pp.259,328.Doresse,J.;**The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics**,London,1960,pp.255 ff.Bloomfield,M.W.; **The Seven Deadly Sins**, Michigan,1952, 1967,pp.46,342. Scholars are divided in their estimation of the relevance of Egyptian influence in the so-called **Corpus Hermeticum**. Féstugière concentrates on the Greek philosophical element in the work and denies any connection with mystery cults.Doresse,who comments on a Coptic version of the **Asclepius**,is more sympathetic to the possibility of Egyptian influence being more dominant.Bloomfield treads a somewhat middle path.The precise date at which the **Corpus Hermeticum** was assembled from its various sources is not known,however,it already existed as such in the

eleventh century and was known to Psellus,an eleventh-century scholar.
145.Yates,1964,pp.1-18. Féstugière,Nock,1945,p.259.The incorrect attribution to Apuleius of Madaura dates from the ninth century.
146.Yates,1964,pp.1-18.Scott,Vol.I,1923,p.31.Ficino, Ed.Cit.,Vol.II,1962,pp.386,1537,1836.Walker,1954, pp.204-59.Masai,F.;**Pléthon et le Plâtonisme de Mistra**, Paris,1956,pp.136,138.Ficino (in his **Theologica Platonica** in Ed.Cit.,p.386,and the **Argumentum** to his **Pimander** in,Ed.Cit.,p.1836) gives the genealogy of ancient wisdom as follows: Zoroaster,Mercurius Trismegistus, Orpheus, Aglaophemus, Pythagoras and finally,Plato.Ficino further stated (Preface to the Commentaries on Plotinus, in,Ed.Cit.,p.1537) that divine theology had a simultaneous origin with Mercurius Trismegistus among the Egyptians and among the Persians with Zoroaster.The line of descent then proceeded as follows:Orpheus, Aglaophemus, Pythagoras, Plato. These observations on theological genealogy by Ficino are very similar to those by Gemisthos Pletho.For Pletho the most ancient source of wisdom was Zoroaster whose teachings were passed down (via a different line of intermediaries) to Pythagoras and Plato.
147.Bloomfield,1953,1967,pp.1-7,12,45-50,55,63,234,313.
148.Ficino,Ed.Cit.,Vol.II,1962,pp.1858-70 (**Asclepius**).
149.Ibid.,pp.1862-65 (**Asclepius**,Cap.VII,VIII).
150.Yates,1964,pp.1-19.Féstugière,Vol.I,1944,pp.1-89.
151.Ficino,Ed.Cit.,Vol.II,1962,pp.1837-57 (**Corpus Hermeticum/Pimander**,Cap.I-XIV).
152.Ibid.,pp.1854-57 (**Corpus Hermeticum**,Cap.XIII).
153.Ibid.,pp.1839-40 (**Corpus Hermeticum**,Cap.II).
154.Ibid.,p.1841 (**Corpus Hermeticum**,Cap.II).
155.Féstugière,Nock,Vol.II,1945,p.259.
156.Féstugière,Vol.I,1944,pp.1-89.
157.Ficino,Ed.Cit.,1962,Vol.II,pp.1865-67 (**Asclepius**, Cap.IX).
158.Yates,1964,pp.1-18. Kristeller,P.O.;**Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters**, Rome,1956, p.223. Marcel,A.;**Marsile Ficin**,Paris,1958,p.255.The MS from which Ficino made his translation for Cosimo de'Medici is now in the Biblioteca Laurentiana,listed as *Laurentianus*,LXXI 33 (A).
159.Yates,1964,pp.16,170,171,179,181-82,398.Scott,Vol.I, 1924,p.31.Kristeller,1956,p.223. Idem,**Supplementum Ficinianum**,2 Vols,Florence,1937,Vol.I,pp.LVII-VII,CXXIX-CXXXI.
160.Ficino,Ed.Cit.,1962,Vol.II,p.1836 (**Argumentum**).
161.Yates,1964,pp.1-19,23-25.
Féstugière,Nock,Vol.I,1945,p.XXXVIII;Vol.II,1945,pp.259, 276-77,304. Lactantius;**Divinum Institutiones**, I,vi,I V, vi, xi,II,xv,VIII,xviii;**De Ira Dei**,XI,in,W.Fletcher,Vols I and II,Edinburgh,1871,Vol.I (for the **Div.Inst.**)pp.14-19,220-22,226,468-89,Vol.II (for the **De Ira Dei**),p.25.
162.Yates,1964,pp.1-19.Fletcher,1871,Vol.I,pp.14-19, 220-22,468-69.Lagrange,M.J.;**Le judaisme avant Jesus-Christ**,Paris,1931,pp.505-11.Puech,A.;**Histoire de la litterature grecque chrétienne**,Vol.II,Paris,1928,pp.603-15.Féstugière,Nock,Vol.II,1945,pp.325 ff.Ficino,Ed.Cit., 1962,Vol.II,pp.1858-70.Augustine was attacking sections

23,24,37 of the Asclepius in his De civitate Dei, VIII,xiii-xxvi.The discussion from Augustine is to be found in Yates,1964,pp.10-11.
163.Yates,1964,p.10 (the relevant passage from Augustine's De civitate Dei is VIII,xxiii). Fletcher,Vol.I,1879,pp.14-19,220-22,468-69(for Lactantius' Div.Inst., I,vi,IV,vi, VIII,xviii). Lagrange,1931,pp.505-11.Puech,1928,Vol.II,pp.603-15. The so-called Sibylline Oracles,cited by Lactantius,were not genuinely Antique any more than the Corpus Hermeticum.They are possibly contemporaneous with the Hermetic literature although the exact date of their compilation and remains unknown.
164.Yates,1964,pp.169,172-73.
165.Ficino,Ed.Cit.,1962,Vol.II,pp.1837-39.
166.Ibid.,p.1836 (Argumentum).
167.Ibid.,p.1893 (Corpus Hermeticum,Cap.I).
168.Yates,1964,pp.18-19.Féstugière,Nock,Vol.I,1045,p.vii. Masai,1956,pp.136-37,375. Kröll,W.;"De oraculis chaldaicis",Breslauer Philologische Abhandlung,Vol.VII, 1894,pp.1-76.Ficino was markedly influenced in his work by Gemistos Pletho.Both Ficino and Pletho never doubted the antiquity of the so-called Chaldean Oracles which in their content and presentation of argument closely resemble the Corpus Hermeticum and the Sibylline Oracles.
169.Yates,1964,pp.18-19.
170.Ibid.,pp.84-86.Pico,Ed.Cit.,1969,Vol.I,pp.V-XXVI. Garin,E.;Giovanni Pico della Mirandola.Vita e dottrina, Florence,1937,passim.Idem,La cultura filosofica del Rinascimento italiano,Florence,1961,pp.231-90.
171.Pico,Ed.Cit.,1969,Vol.I,p.109.
172.Ibid.,Vol.I,pp.63-113,313-31.
173.Ibid.,Vol.I,pp.313-14.
174.Yates,1964,pp.111-13.Doréz,Thuasne,1897,passim. Thorndike,Vol.VI,1936,pp.484-511.Pico,Ed.Cit.,1969, Vol.I,pp.XVI-XVII.
175.Pico,Ed.Cit.,1969,Vol.I,p.105.
176.Pico,Ed.Cit.,1969,Vol.I,pp.114-240,XVI-XVIII. Yates, 1964,pp.111-14.Thorndike,Vol.VI,1936,pp.484-511.
177.Yates,1964,pp.111-14.Doréz,Thuasne,1897,passim.
178.Thorndike,Vol.IV,1934,pp.497-507. Pico,Ed.Cit.,Vol.I,1969,pp.XVII-XIX.
179.Pico,Ed.Cit.,Vol.I,1969,pp.411-732.
180.Yates,1964,pp.84-86.
181.Ficino,Ed.Cit.,1962,Vol.II,pp.1836-73 (Corpus Hermeticum,Asclepius).
182.Féstugière,Vol.I,1944,p.84,Vol.II,1949,pp.X-XI. Reitzenstein,R.;Poimandres,Leipzig,1904,passim. McL.Wilson,R.;The Gnostic Problem,London,1958,passim. Yates, 1964,p.22.
183.Féstugière,Vol.I,1944,p.84,Vol.II,1949,pp.X-XI.
184.Ibid.Vol.I,p.84;Vol.II,pp.X-XI.
185.Lightbown,1986,pp.194,442.Verheyen,1971,pp.14-15,21; plates 9,10.Gerola,1929,pp.279-80.Wind,1948,pp.18-19.
186.Ficino,Ed.Cit.,1962,Vol.II,pp.1837-39.
187.Ibid.,pp.1837-39 (Corpus Hermeticum/ Pimander Cap.1).
188.Ibid.,pp.1837-39.
189.Ibid.,pp.1837-39.
190.Ibid.,pp.1837-39.
191.Ibid.,pp.1837-39.

192.Ibid.,pp.1837-39.
193.Ibid.,pp.1837-39.
194.Ibid.,pp.1838-39.
195.Ibid.,pp.1838-39.
196.Ibid.,pp.1838-39.
197.Ibid.,pp.1837-39.**Biblia Sacra** (Ed.Cit.),1985,pp.2-44.
198.Ficino,Ed.Cit.,1962,Vol.I,pp.106,427-30 (**Theologica Platonica**,Lib.XVIII,Cap.I);Vol.II,p.1839.
199.Ficino,Ed.Cit.,1962,Vol.II,pp.1837-39.
200.Pico,Ed.Cit.,1969,Vol.I,pp.313-15.
201.**Lucian** (Lucian of Samosata).8 Vols.(Trans.A.M. Harmon,K.Kilburn and M.D.Macleod).Loeb Classical Library,London,Harvard,1913-62.Vol.VII (**Dialogi Deorum**,Trans.M.D.Macleod),1961,pp.240-353,p.343.
202.Apuleius;**The Golden Ass** (Trans.W.Aldington,1566. Rev.S.Gaselee).1 Vol.,London,New York,1915,p.579 (Book XI.)Webb,N.;"Momus with little flatteries: intellectual life at the Italian courts", **Mantegna,1993**,pp.56-71 (68-69.)
203.Lightbown,1986,pp.206-07,267.
204.Ficino,Ed.Cit.,1962,Vol.II,pp.,1854-56.
205.Ibid.,pp.1854-55.
206.Ibid.,p.1854.
207.Ibid.,p.1855.
208.Ibid.,p.1855.
209.Ibid.,p.1855.
210.Ibid.,p.1855.
211.Ibid.,p.1855.
212.Ibid.,p.1856.
213.Lightbown,1986,pp.206-07,266-67. Fra Saba da Castiglione ,**Ricordi ovvero ammaestramenti**,Milan,1559, p.82.(B.C.Mn.). Luzio,A.;"Lettere inedite di fra Sabba da Castiglione",**Archivio Storico Lombardo.** (ser.2), Vol.III, 1886,pp.91-112. Vickers,B.;"Leisure and idleness in the Renaissance:the ambivalence of *otium*",**Renaissance Studies**, Vol.4,No.1, Oxford,1990,pp.1-37; Vol.4, No.2, 1990,pp.107-54 (esp.pp.123-34).In Vol.4,No.2,Vickers deals with the matter of *otium* as portrayed by Mantegna in The Triumph of Virtue.He does not depart from Lightbown's assertion that the main theme of the painting is the negation or nullifying of the undesirable effects of Cupid's arrows.
214.Ekserdjian,D.;Landau,D.;Boorsch,S.;**Andrea Mantegna, 1992**,pp.451-56,plates 147,148,fig.112. Massing,1990, pp.180-84,figs.67,68.Lightbown,1986,pp.485-86,figs.222, 239(a) and (b).
215.Boorsch,S.;**Andrea Mantegna,1992**,p.456. Lightbown, 1986, pp.205,485-86. D'Arco,C.;**Delle arti e degli artefici di mantova**,2 Vols,Mantua,1857,Vol.II,p.20. Braghirolli,W.;"Alcuni documenti inediti relativi ad Andrea Mantegna",**Giornale di Erudizione Artistica**,Vol.I, 1872,pp.194-207 (p.204).The letters were written by Mantegna on 31 January,1489 and on 28 November,1491.
216.**Andrea Mantegna,1992**,plate 148,fig.112.
217.Cicero,**De Oratore**,II,40,171,as quoted in Lightbown, 1986,p.205.
218.**Andrea Mantegna,1992**,pp.285-86,plate 79,pp.427-28, plate 136.
219.Lightbown,1986,pp.206,266.Ficino,Ed.Cit.,1962,Vol.II, pp.1854-56.

220.Boccaccio,Ed.Cit.,Vol.I,p.51 (Book I,Cap.XXI.)
221.Lightbown,1986,p.206.
222.Lightbown,1986,pp.202-03,266. Cf Förster,1901, pp.159-63. Lehmann-Hartleben,K.;"The *Imagines* of the Elder Philostratus",Art Bulletin,Vol.XICIII, Washington, Providence,1941,pp.16-44. Cicero,De Legibus,I,17,47;22,58 (as quoted in Lightbown, above, p.266).
223.Cicero,De Legibus,I,17,47;as quoted in Lightbown, 1986,pp.202-03,266.
224.Biblia Sacra(Ed.Cit.),1985,pp.582-83,also 587-88 (Proverbs VIII and IX).
225.Webb,N.;"Momus with little flatteries:intellectual life at the Italian courts",Mantegna,1993,pp.56-71.
226.Apuleius,Ed.Cit.,p.543.
227.Cf.Lightbown,1986,p.204.
228.Apuleius,Ed.Cit.,pp.543,545.
229.Ficino,Ed.Cit.,1962,Vol.II,pp.1854-56.
230.Lightbown,1986,pp.206,266.Förster,1901,p.162.Verheyen 1971,pp.31-35.Béguin,1975,p.38.It was Förster who asserted that these figures were assisting Minerva in her attack on the Vices.He identified the figure with the torch as Chastity and that with the bow and quiver as Diana.This interpretation of character and action has been followed by Verheyen and Béguin,however,Lightbown is correct to question the rôle of the figures as divine companions (*divae comites*) of Minerva,as the inscription on the banderole encircling the anthropomorphic bay-laurel is addressed to what would surely be goddesses.Neither Chastity nor Virtue are goddesses.More significantly (as Lightbown notes),the figure with the bow and quiver is making no attempt to use her weapon as she would undoubtedly be doing if she were assisting Minerva.I am also in agreement with Lightbown in that the other figure is not Chastity,the smouldering or guttering torch would not be an attribute of Chastity but rather of extinguished or frustrated lust.
231.Christiansen,Andrea Mantegna,1992, p.429. Janson, H.W.; "The Image made by Chance",De artibus opuscula XL:Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky (Ed.M.Meiss), New York,pp.254-66.
232.Andrea Mantegna,1992,plate 148,p.454.
233.Lightbown,1986,pp.194,197.
234.Yates,1964,pp.18,58.Garin,E.;Medioevo e Rinascimento, Florence,1954,p.155.Walker,D.P.;"Orpheus the Theologian and the Renaissance Platonists", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, Vol.XVI, London,1953,pp.100-20. See also footnotes 133,150 and 155 of this chapter of this thesis.
235.For discussions about the Picatrix; H.Ritter, "Picatrix,ein arabisches Handbuch hellenistischer Magie",Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg, 1922. Thorndike, Vol.II,pp.813 ff. Féstugière,Vol.I,1944,pp.389,397 (Appendix on Arabic Hermetic literature by Louis Massignon).Garin,1961,pp.159 ff.See also footnote 111 of this chapter of this thesis.
236.Ficino,Ed.Cit.,1962,Vol.I,pp.523-602. Kristeller, 1937,Vol.I,pp.LXIV-LXVI.The so-called Libri de Vita consisted of three works,the third of which has the title De vita coelitus comparanda.It was this third work that went into many editions.

237.Yates,1964,pp.62-81. Walker,1958,passim. Idem,1953,pp.100-20.Garin,1954,p.172.
238.Yates,1964,p.81.Séznec,1953,1972,pp.37 ff. Warburg,1966,pp.247-73.
239.Yates,1964,pp.78-80.Walker,1958,pp.12-24. Idem,1953,pp.100-20.
240.Walker,1958,pp.12-24.Idem,1953,pp.100-20.
241.Ficino,Ed.Cit.,1962,Vol.I,pp.523-602.
242.Ibid.Vol.I,pp.602-04.
243.Ibid.Vol.I,pp.602-03.
244.A.S.M.A.G.BUSTA 400.D.XII.6.See footnote 263 of Ch.1 of this thesis for a description of Stivini's Inventory.Lightbown,1986,pp.442-43.Luzio,A.;"Isabella d'Este e il Sacco di Roma",**Archivio Storico Lombardo** (ser.4),Vol.X,pp.5-107,361-425.The section (vi) dealing with the contents of Isabella's *Grotta* occupies pp.413-25.The well-known descriptions of the Parnassus and The Triumph of Virtue are given on fols. 166r and 166v of Stivini's document. Lightbown,1986,pp.197-98,265. Christiansen,**Andrea Mantegna,1992**,p.421.Verheyen,1971,pp. 35-36.Williams-Lehmanns,1973,pp.61-62. Förster,1901,p.155. Béguin,1975,pp.33,73,n.133.All of these authors,with the exception of Béguin,name the figure in question as Apollo on the grounds that as the dancing female figures adjacent to him are nine in number they must be the Muses (which one would accept), therefore,it must follow that the youth is Apollo.However,Lightbown at least admits that the figure has none of the traditional attributes of Apollo.Béguin alone designates the youth as Linus,the son of Apollo.
245.Martindale,1974,p.10.Idem,1979,p.155.Lightbown,1986,pp.197-98,265.Blum,1936,p.102.Williams-Lehmanns, 1973, pp. 89-90.Schröter,1977,p.287,n.1033.As far as the Triumphs of Caesar is concerned,the bagpipes appear in Canvas VIII (Musicians and Standard-Bearers).Most authors designate the instrument in the Parnassus as a lyre,Lightbown terms it a cithara.
246.Yates,1964,p.78.Walker,1958,pp.19,22.
247.Lightbown,1986,pp.200,265. Williams-Lehmanns, 1973,pp.71-73,167-68.Wind,1948,p.13. Scholars have been correct in refuting Wind's assertion that the animal in the right-centre foreground of the Parnassus is a porcupine.Williams-Lehmanns is probably correct when she states that the portrayal of the squirrel with tail erect along its back (the rendering of which led Wind to see the tail as bristling porcupine quills) is a direct reference to its Greek nickname of "shadow-tail".Paride da Ceresara could certainly have informed Mantegna of the colloquial Greek name for the squirrel.
248.Boccaccio,Ed.Cit.,Vol.II,pp.539-42 (Book XI,Cap.II.)
249.Pico,Ed.Cit.,1969,Vol.I,p.106.
250.Pico,Ed.Cit.,1969,Vol.I,p.106.Yates,1964,pp.79,90. Walker,1958,p.22.
251.Yates,1964,pp.84-116.Scholem,G.;**Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism**,Jerusalem,1941,New York,1946,pp.1-39. MacGregor Mathers,M.;**Kabbalah Denudata:The Kabbalah Unveiled**,4th Ed.,London,1951,pp.1-42.
252.Garin,1961,pp.231-66.Idem;**Umanesimo Italiano**, Bari, 1952,pp.119,124-25,144.Idem (Ed);**Filosofi Italiani del Quattrocento**,Florence,1942,pp.502-09.Cassuto,V.;**Gli Ebrei**

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253.Scholem,1941,1946,pp.119-55,156-244. Idem,in, Encyclopaedia Judaica,Vol.IX,pp.104-11.Idem;Bibliografia Kabbalistica,1927,pp.162-82. Ginzberg,L.;Jewish Encyclopaedia, Vol.XII,pp.602-12.Yates,1964,pp.84-116.The Zohar (*Sepher ha-Zohar*) was probably the work of one Moses ben Shemtob de Leon (d. c.1295).It is the principal work of the Hebrew Cabbala.Pico would have known it in MS form.One notes with interest that the first printed edition (in three vols.) was published at Mantua in 1558-60.

254.Pico,Ed.Cit.,1969,Vol.I,p.83.

255.Scholem,1941,1946,pp.1-39,119-244,259.

256.Ibid.,pp.76-78.

257.Ibid.,pp.75-78.

258.Ibid.,pp.75-78.

259.Scholem,1941,1946,pp.88 ff. Idem;1927,pp.162-82. Idem;Encyclopaedia Judaica, Vol.IX,pp.104-11. Ginzburg,L; Jewish Encyclopaedia,Vol.XII,pp.602-12.The Sefer Yetzirah (*Liber formationis o creationis*) appeared in a printed edition for the first time at Mantua in 1562.

260.Scholem,1941,1946,pp.119-55,156-244.

261.Scholem,1941,1946,pp.1-39.MacGregor Mathers,1951, passim.

262.Scholem,1941,1946,pp.1-39,119-55.

263.Ibid.,pp.122-42.

264.Pico,Ed.Cit.,1969,Vol.I,p.80.Blau,J.;The Christian Interpretation of the Cabbala in the Renaissance, Columbia,1944,passim.Secret,F.;"Pico della Mirandola e gli inizi della cabala cristiana", Convivium, Vol.I, 1957,pp.31-47.Anagnine,1937,pp.75-203.

265.Yates,1964,p.110.

266.Scholem,1941,1946,pp.40-79. Idem;Jewish Gnosticism,Merkabah Mysticism,and Talmudic Tradition, New York,1960,pp.65-66. Kröll,J.;Die Lehren des Hermes Trismegistos,1928,pp.303-08.

267.Pico,Ed.Cit.,1969,Vol.I,p.105 (*Conclusione Magicae*, No.15).

268.Ibid.,pp.63-240,313-31.

269.Ibid.,pp.111,113.

270.Ibid.,p.111.

271.Scholem,1941,1946,pp.212-13.Anagnine,1937,pp.116-21. Pico,Ed.Cit.,1969,Vol.I,pp.111,113.

272.Pico,Ed.Cit.,1969,Vol.I,p.111.

273.Pico,Ed.Cit.,1969,Vol.I,p.113.Scholem,1941,1946, pp.212-13.Anagnine,1937,pp.116-21.

274.Williams-Lehmanns,1973,pp.164-66.Ransom,G.L.;Studies in Ancient Furniture.Couches and Beds of the Greeks,Etruscans and Romans,Chicago,1905,fig.30. Richter, G.M.;Ancient Furniture, Oxford, 1926,figs.187,188. Spreti,V.(et al);Enciclopedia storico-nobiliare italiana, Vol.III,Milan,1930, pp.515 ff,and Appendix,pt.II, 1935, p.157.

275.Lightbown,1986,pp.195,264.Panofsky,E.;Studies in Iconology,Oxford,1939,New York,1961,1972,pp.141 ff.
276.Lightbown,1986,pp.194-96.Förster,1901,pp.157-59. Wind,1948,pp.3-11.Battisti,1965,pp.23 ff.
277.Lightbown,1986,pp.196,264. Merrill,R.V.;"Eros and Anteros",Speculum,Vol.XII,1944,pp.265-84. Miglio, M.,in, Dizionario biografico degli italiani,Vol.XIX,1976,pp.186-89 (under entry,"Capretto").Zabughin,V.;"Petri Haedi Sacerdotis Portusnaensis Antierotica", Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana,Vol.LXXVIII,1919,pp.313-17. Merrill remains the best reference for the way in which the character of Anteros was seen in the Renaissance.Miglio and Zabughin are the most useful references for the life and works of Petrus Haedus (Pietro Hedo/Capretto,b.1427-d.1504).
278.Lightbown,1986,pp.195-96,264.Wind,1948,p.13.Verheyen, 1971,p.36.Williams-Lehmanns,1973,pp.66,155. Gombrich, 1963,p.197.Wind is alone in terming the "pea-shooter" a trumpet;all other authors agree that what is portrayed is indeed a pea-shooter or a blowpipe.One might at a very tight pinch term it a sort of flute or similar wind-instrument,however,*Amor* is not holding it in the correct way for the fingering of the holes.
279.Lightbown,1986,pp.195,264.Boccaccio,Ed.Cit., Vol.II,pp.622-25 (Book XII,Cap.LXX.)
280.Boccaccio,Ed.Cit.,Vol.I,p.137 (Book III,Cap.XVIII.)
281.Cf.Lightbown,1986,p.195.
282.Williams-Lehmanns,1973,pp.149-54.
283.Ibid.,pp.149-54.
284.Bettini,S.;Giusto de'Menabuoi e l'arte del Trecento, Padua,1944,pp.113-15.
285.Williams-Lehmanns,1973,pp.149-54.
Cf.Lightbown,1986,pp.195-96.
286.Williams-Lehmanns,1973,p.154. Bertolotti,A.;Musici alla corte dei Gonzaga in Mantova dal secolo XV al XVIII.Notizie e documenti raccolti negli archivi mantovani,Milan,1890,pp.7-18.
287.Bertolotti,1890,pp.7-18.Luzio,A;Renier,R;"La coltura e le relazioni letterarie di Isabella d'Este Gonzaga", Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana, Vols. XXXIII,1899,pp.1-62;XXXIV,1899,pp.1-97; XLII,1903,pp.75-111 (Vol.XXXIII,pp.48-62 for matters of music).
288.Boccaccio,Ed.Cit.,Vol.II,pp.508-10 (Book X, Cap.XXVII.)
289.Williams-Lehmanns,1973,pp.132-42,nn.150-56.The works referred to besides Ovid's Fasti are the Aratea of Aratus and the Poeticon astronomicon of Hyginus.
290.Williams-Lehmanns,1973,pp.137-38. Cf.Lightbown, 1986, p.197,fig.114 (for Canvas V of The Triumphs of Caesar).
291.Wind,1948,pp.10,13.Lightbown,1986,p.200.Lightbown follows Wind in terming the "brooms" as scourges.
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Fig.1.
Mantegna: Parnassus, 1497.
(Musée du Louvre,Paris.)

Fig.2.
Parnassus: Detail. Mercury and Pegasus.

Fig.3.
Parnassus: Detail. Vulcan at his forge.

Fig.4.
Mantegna: The Triumph of Virtue, 1502.
(Musée du Louvre, Paris.)

Fig.5.
The Triumph of Virtue: Detail. Minerva.

Fig.6.
The Triumph of Virtue: Detail. Otium and Inertia.

Fig.7.
The Triumph of Virtue: Detail. The Daphne-Tree.

Fig.8.
Perugino: Battle of Love and Chastity, 1505.
(Musée du Louvre,Paris.)

Fig.9.
Costa: Comus, 1506.
(Musée du Louvre,Paris.)

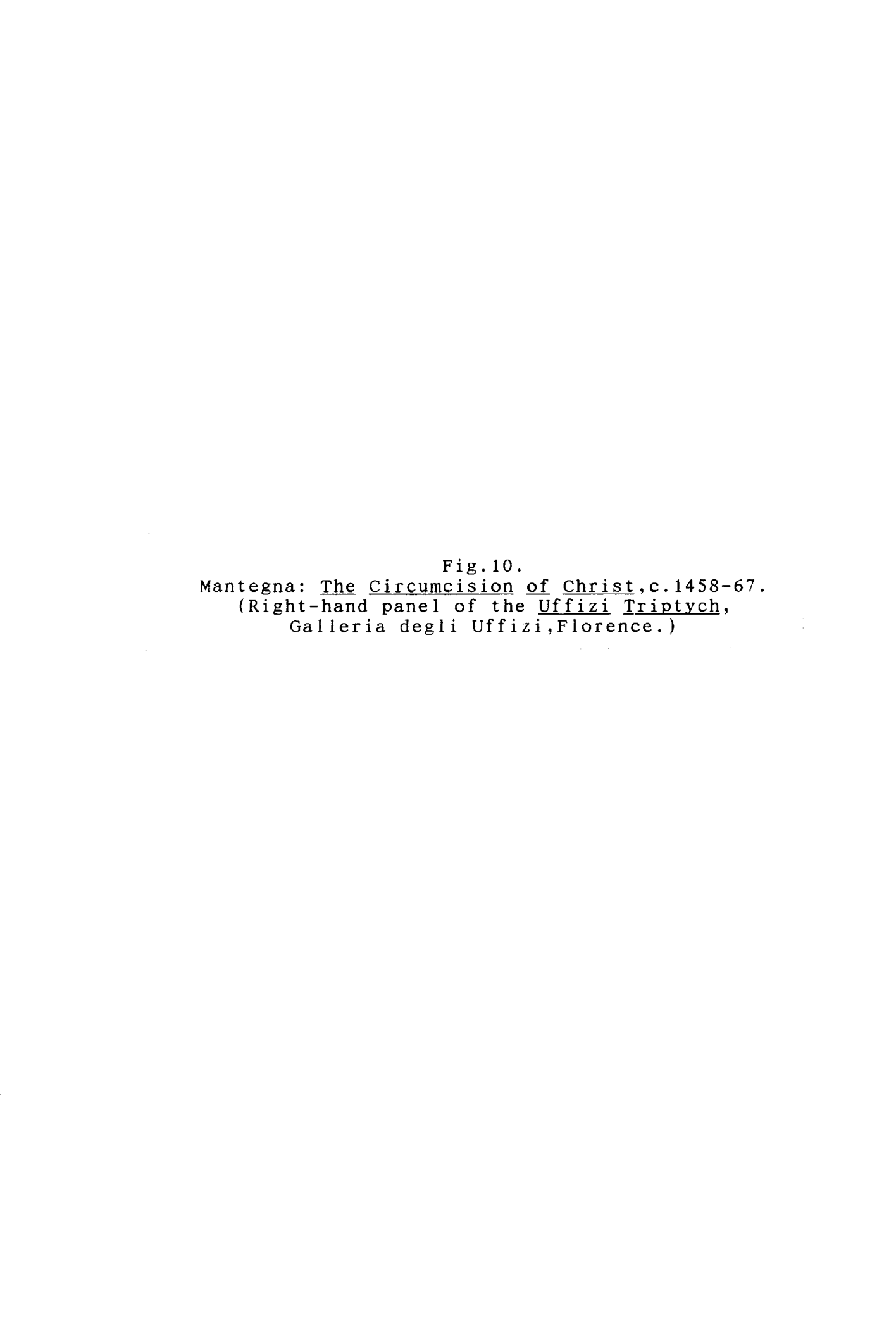


Fig.10.
Mantegna: The Circumcision of Christ, c.1458-67.
(Right-hand panel of the Uffizi Triptych,
Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.)

Fig.11.
The Circumcision of Christ: Detail.
Sacrifice of Isaac;Moses receiving the Law.

Fig.12.
The Circumcision of Christ: Detail.
All'antica motifs.

Fig.13.
The Circumcision of Christ: Detail.
Joseph. Mary, the Christ-Child and the Priest.

Fig.14.
The Circumcision of Christ: Detail.
Two Women. Small child present in the Temple.

Fig.15.
Mantegna: The Madonna of the Rocks, c.1468.
(Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.)

Fig.16.
Mantegna: *The Introduction of the Cult of Cybele to Rome*, 1505-06.
(National Gallery, London.)

Fig.17.
The Introduction of the Cult of Cybele to Rome: Detail. Priest and Devotee.

Fig.18.
Jan van Eyck (Attrib.):
St.Jerome in his Study.
(Institute of Arts,Detroit.)

Fig.19.
Mantegna: the *Camera Picta*, c.1465-74.
View of West and North Walls.
(Castello di San Giorgio,Mantua.)

Fig.20.
Tomaso di Modena: Fresco-decoration of the Chapter-House of the Dominicans, 1352.
(Treviso. Destr. 1944.)

Fig.21.
Camera Picta: Detail.
West Wall. North Wall.

Fig.22.
Camera Picta:Detail.North Wall.
"Court" Scene.

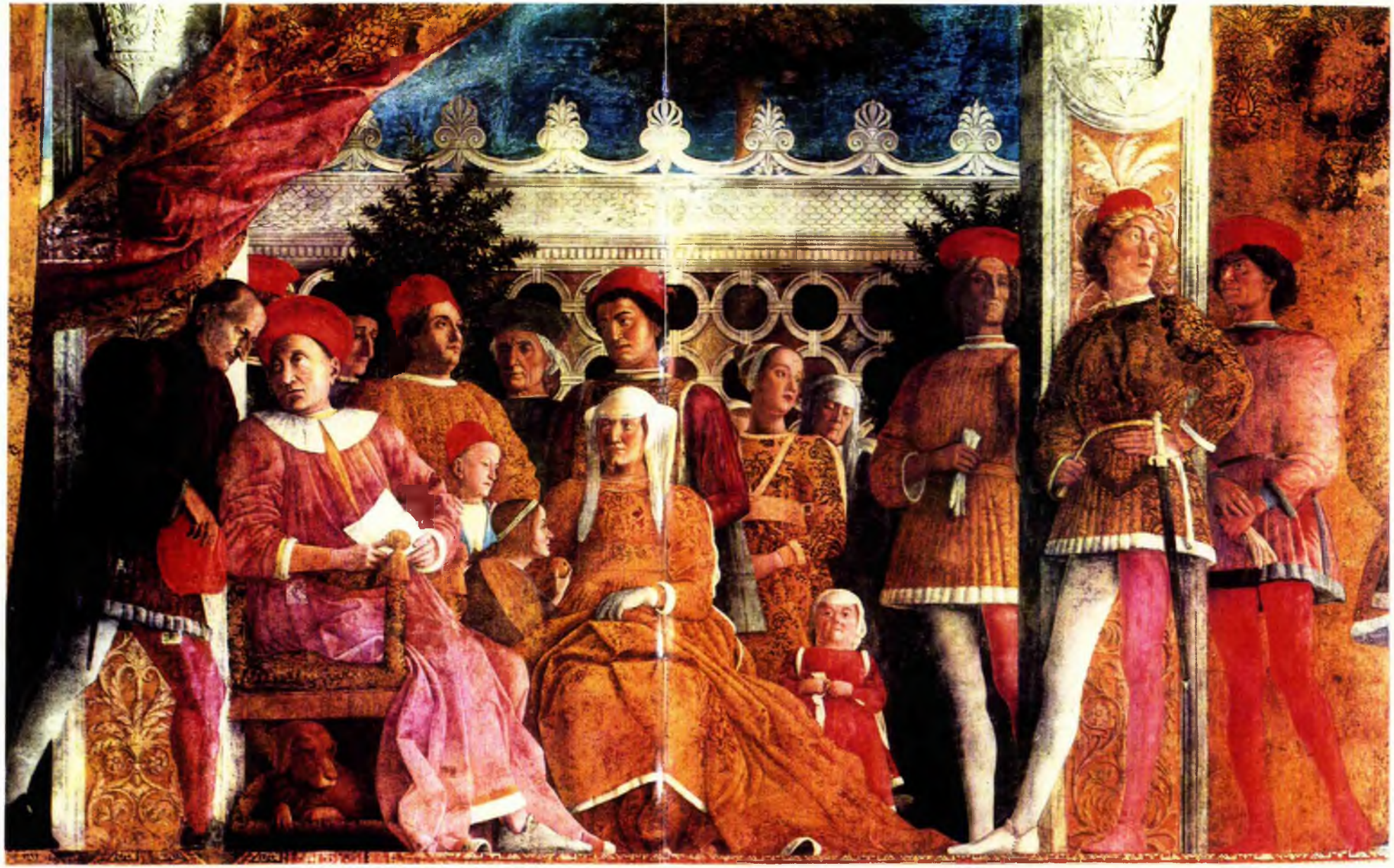


Fig.23.
Camera Picta: Detail.West Wall.
"Meeting" Scene.

Fig.24.
Camera Picta: Detail.West Wall.
Attendants with Horse and Dogs.

Fig.25.
Camera Picta: Detail.
Ceiling with *Oculus*.

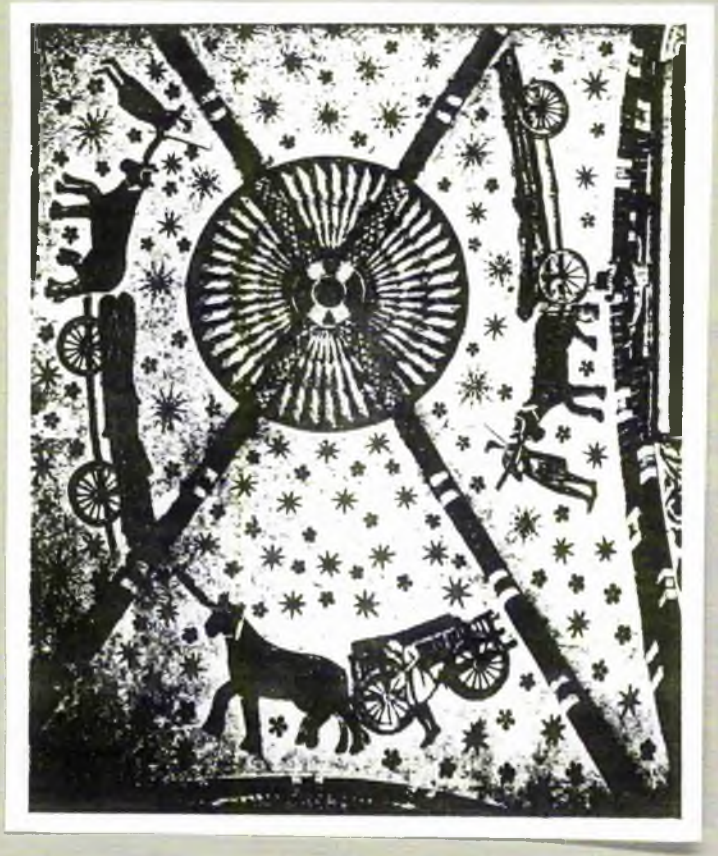


Fig.26.
Ceiling from the Church
at San Bassano.
(Lodi Vecchio.)

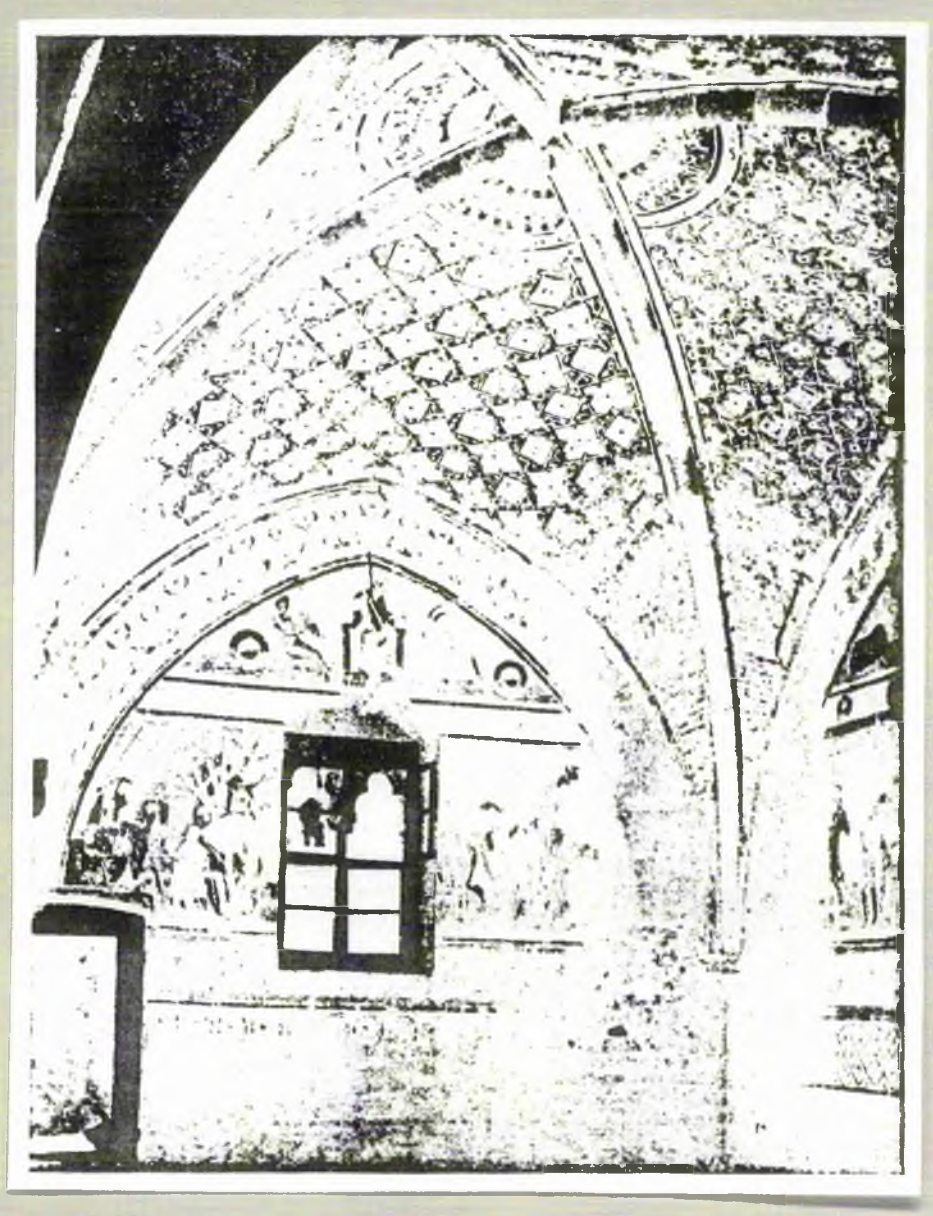


Fig.27.
Episodes from the Apotheosis
of Archbishop Ottone Visconti. Fresco.
(Angera Castle,Lombardy.)

Fig.28.
The Apotheosis of Archbishop
Ottone Visconti: Detail.
Lunette;the Sun and the Moon.

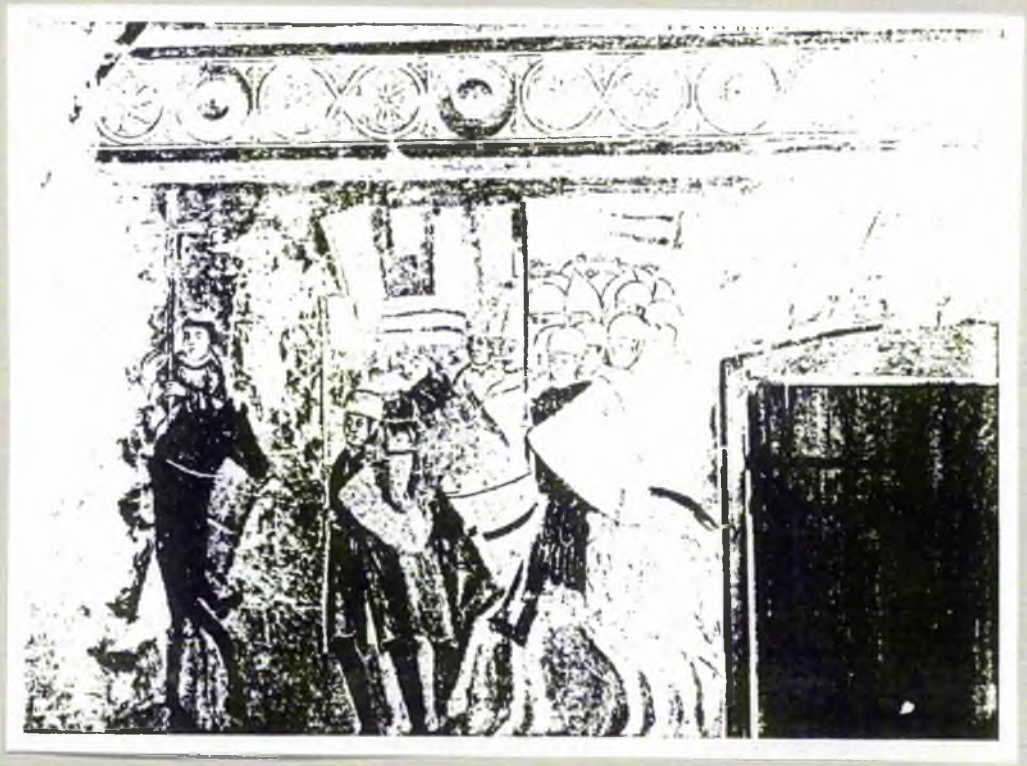


Fig.29.
The Apotheosis of Archbishop
Ottone Visconti: Detail.
The *Allocuzione* of Ottone Visconti.

Fig.30.
The Apotheosis of Archbishop
Ottone Visconti: Detail.
The Entrance of Ottone Visconti
into Milan.

Fig.31.
Ampitheatre. Verona,1st century A.D.

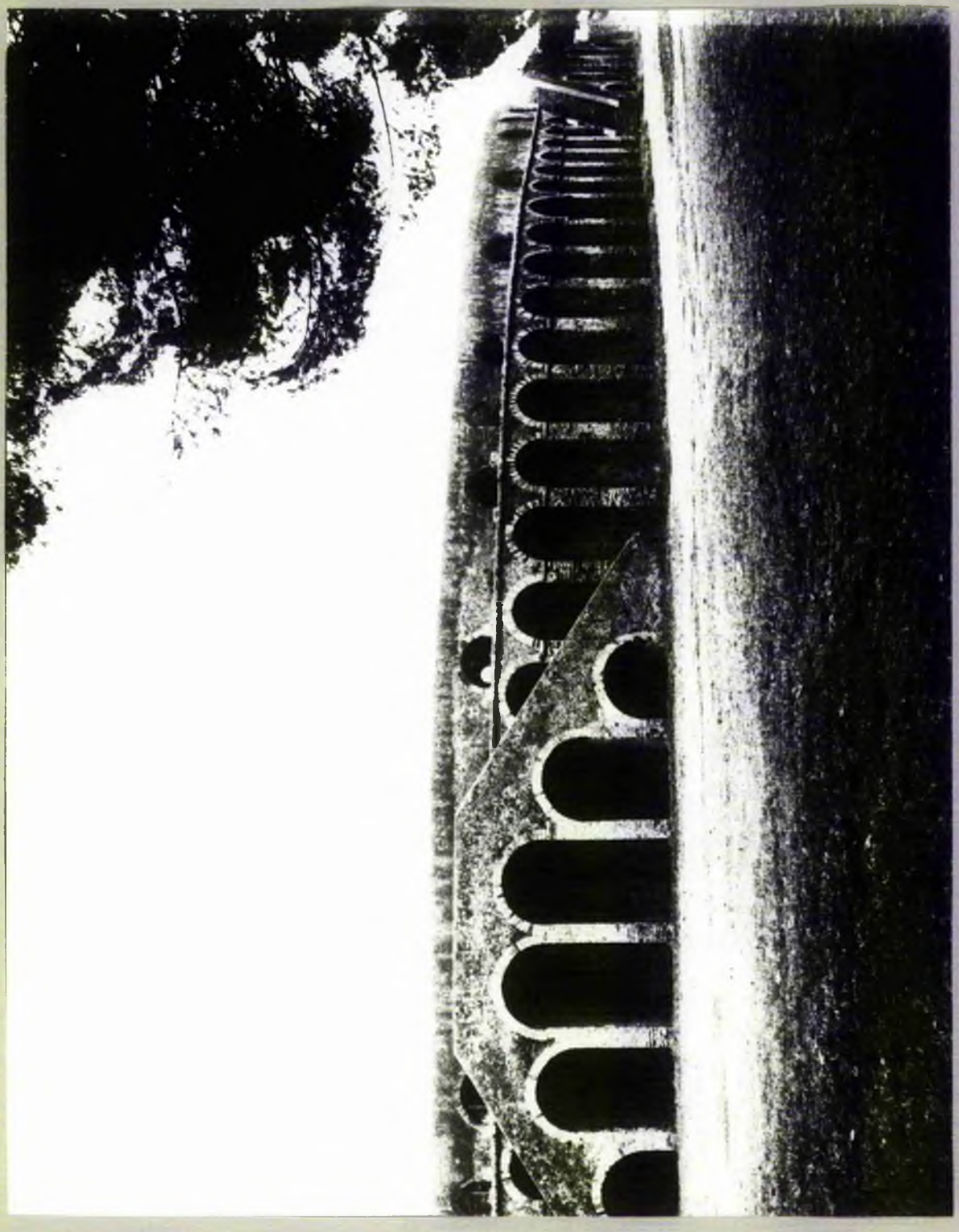


Fig.32.
Ampitheatre. Pompeii,c.80 B.C.

Fig.33.
A.S.M.A.G.BUSTA.329.D.VI.No.1.(C.C.N.N.97).
Inventario of 1407;Vol.1,folio 6 (lower portion),
recto,full-size.

· Infrascripti sunt denarij in auro et ayoneta, qui nunc esse reperiuntur actuati in volta anni-
dni vltimi mccccvij

· Primo. In camera actuentiscxp ducati in auro inquibus sunt quatraginta florenj in lagro suo
ñ et assignati dne pdta p fre Ioñis de Roberteis pro quor
erant cautiones pdte, ponendi ad rationem sue.

· Item octingentonionij · libre et quatuor pars in ayonetis ayantinamis ñ et assignati p fre Ioñis pdicti
ponde rõi sue ut supra · Vnj libre octuaginta nouem quatuor

· Item · Cinquemilia quatuorcentiseptuaginta octo libre quatuor Soldi et dnj tres ayantinorp in Bononia in quatuor
Buchetis signatis sigo Iodoci de Otez · que erant in quodam capsono alti
et ibidem sunt reposite ·

· Item — centumseptuaginta quatuor libre et Soldi duo ayantinj in quatuinis ayrolinsibus in zon de porticis orto pro
quolibet quatuor in uno sacculo sigto · A · in dco capsono reposite.

· Item — Trecentiquatuorginta duo libre ayantinorp in Bononinis in uno sacculo sigto · B · in dco capsono reposite ·

· Item — decemtrecentiquinquaginta libre ayantinorp · in ayonetis ayrolinsibus · vnj octonis in zon de pontis · 6 pro
quolibet octono, in octonis in zon de porticis dni Iacobi et Pauli, in quatuinis
in zon de porticis orto et quatuor in uno sacculo sigto · C · in dco capsono ·

· Item - Trecentum libre ayantinorp · ad rectum monete ayantinorp in octonis in zon de porticis predicti et quolibet
octono in uno sacculo sigto · D · in dco capsono ·

· Item - centumtriginta octo. libre pars vel denariorum in una manu et quatuor libre in alia manu in Aquilis
in uno sacculo sigto · E · in dco capsono

· Item - centumviginti libre pars in Soldinis ayantinis in uno sacculo sigto · F · in dco capsono ·

· Item - [illegible] in octonis mediolanis in zon

septe pelues ffamastissimi & grauys dor xpbus [illegible]
et eidem assignate

Item due pbis linei. Calige quinq; bene ligate ad Genoesam int quas sunt 4 tros a cadilla cum quatuor crochis ferr tribs ffis manete et bene ad mansta.

. Ste vigintiste lanceas ab equo ffis ffacto.

. Ite zamatha una nigra a campo pignolat ffuffulta tella ad grassio ad azura & bermi et quartilata cum una magnatorea ffimb primy lini & bzati pbis.

. Ite zamatheta una pua a campo pignolat telle fodrata in medio supra ad grassio ad azura bte?

. Item unum pannum linum zonendum magnum pignolat fodratum tella

. Ite zamatheta una pua ad grassio laborata ad tuzdesam & pignolat ffuffulta tella.

. Item duo pulpitia cortinas bene de panno lane rubeo ffuffulte tele ad azuris & aureis p bmanerium cum aquila simplici

. Item tapetia nouem de tzelesio pleni pilis cabrinis

. Item quatuor pilosi p ffamlos a stabulo.

Fig.36.
A.S.M.A.G.BUSTA.329.D.VI.No.1.(C.C.N.N.97).
Inventario of 1407;Vol.1,folio 79 (upper portion),
recto,full-size.

1407.

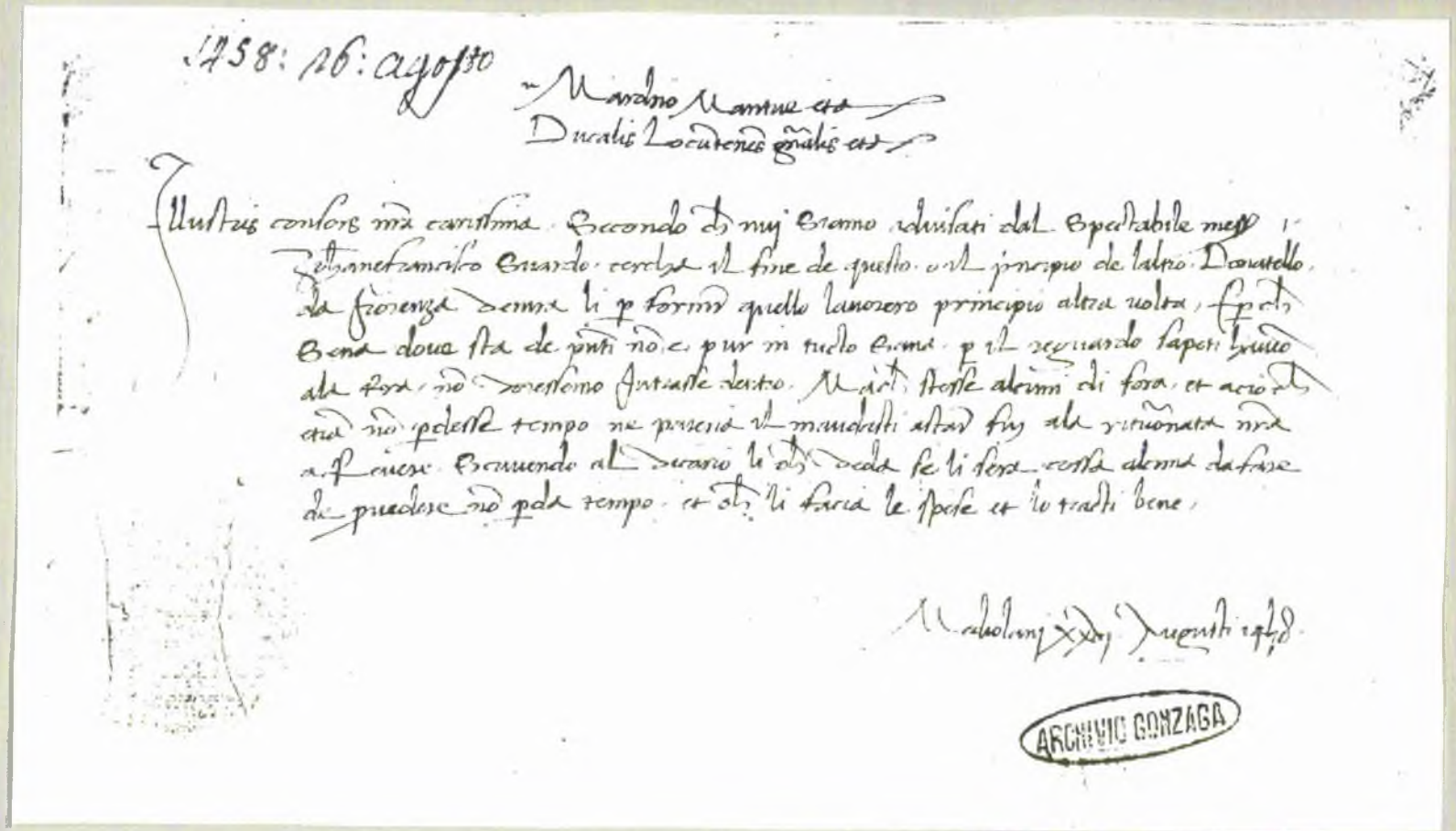
Capitulum Cestrense finitum in crastino purificationis beate dei genitricis et virginis Marie. Anno. 74.

In crastino translacionis sancti

Primo. Domus Cestrie prioratus xxxvi
Item duo monachi prioratus xxxvi
Item domus Derbeye canonicorum
Item domus Stamf. et Cestrie pertinentes huic
Item domus Wallie pertinentes huic.

In crastino translacionis Swythini.

Primo. domus Stamf. prioratus xxxvi
Item duo monachi prioratus xxxvi
Item domus Derbeye canonicorum
Item domus Stamf. et Cestrie pertinentes huic
Item domus Wallie pertinentes huic.



1458: 26: agosto

Mandato Mantue etc
Ducalis Locutenes &alis etc

Illustris consors mia carissima. Secondo di mj erano advisati dal Spectabile messer Johanne Francischo Guazalo circha el fine de quello circha principio de lalto Donatello da fiorenza dessa li p formar quello lauorero principio altra volta, Sperti Bene dove sta de ponti no e pur in tutto cosa p el seguitando saperti Iniuto alla forza no dovessemo fastidire altrimenti di fora, et acio che esso no pdesse tempo ne paresse el mandassi altrad fuy alla reuenuta nra a Reuere. Remanendo al Suprario le obligacion della fe li fera circha altra cosa da fare de praedere no pda tempo. et altri li farra le spese et lo tratti bene.

Mantua xxvj Augusti 1458

Fig.37.
Autograph Letter of Lodovico II Gonzaga;
26 August,1458.A.S.M.A.G.BUSTA.2095,F.II.6.
Full-size.

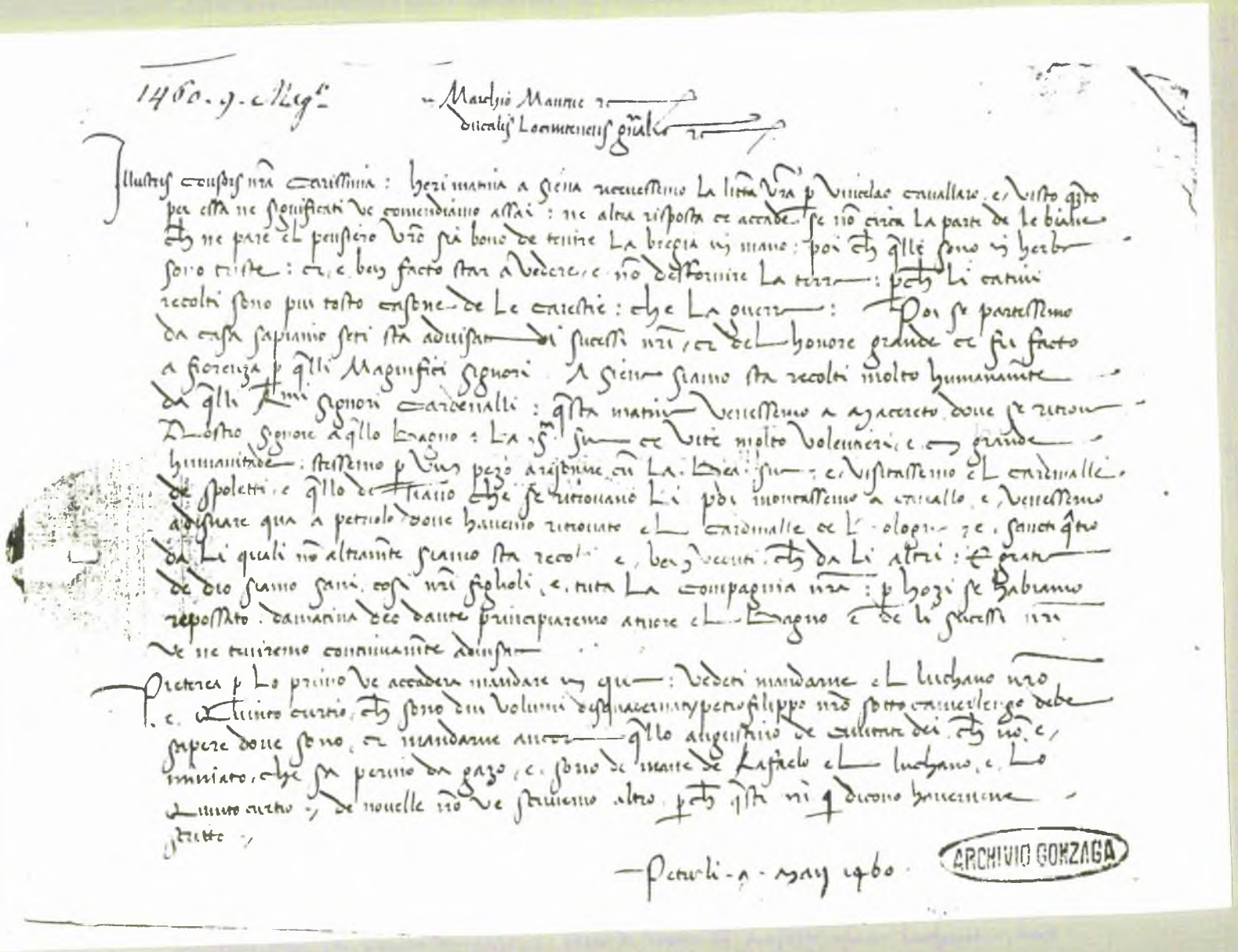


Fig.38.
Autograph Letter of Lodovico II Gonzaga;
9 May,1460.A.S.M.A.G.BUSTA.2096,F.II.6.
Full-size.

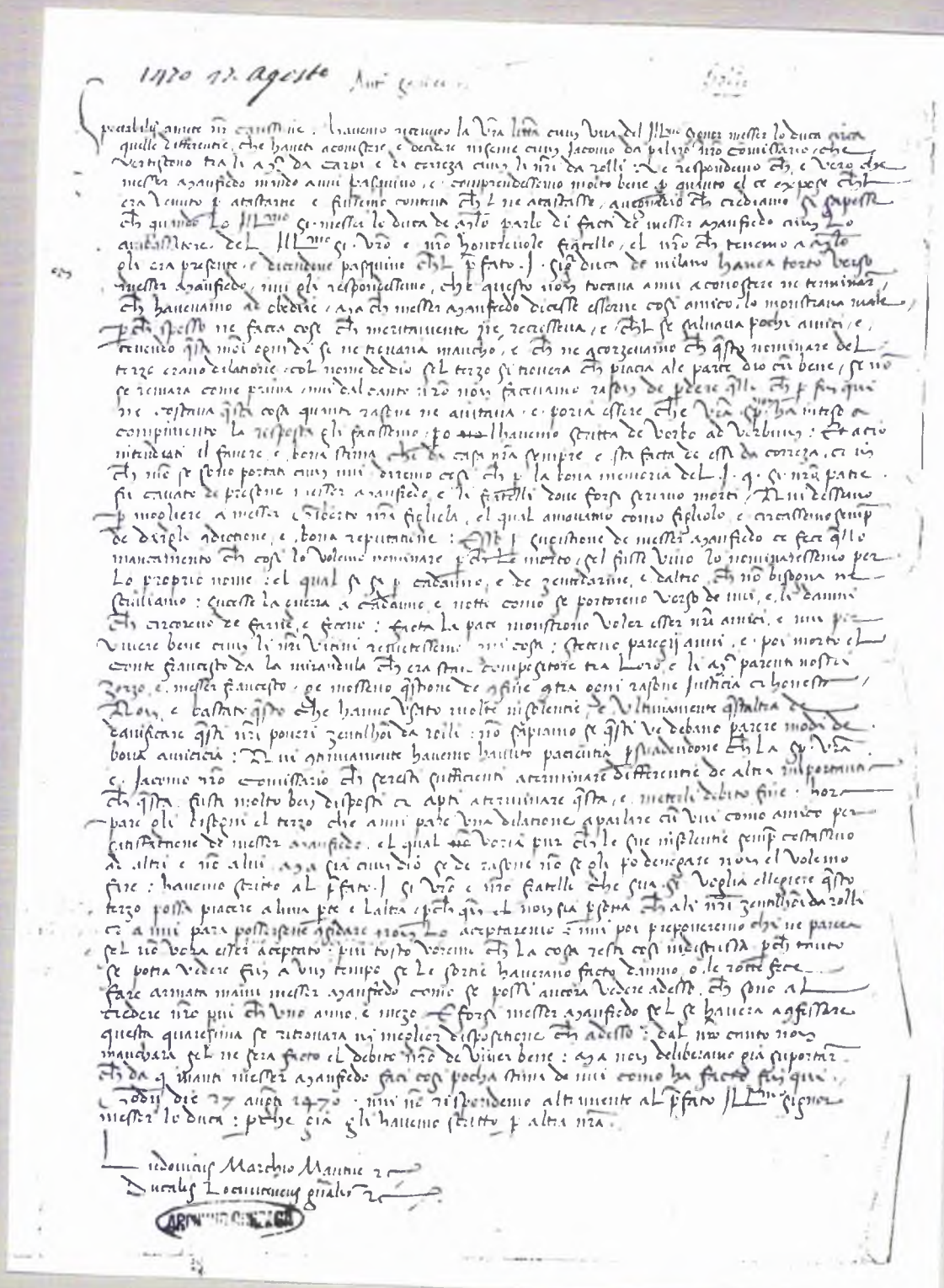


Fig. 39.
Autograph Letter of Lodovico II Gonzaga;
27 August, 1470. A.S.M.A.G. BUSTA. 2100, F. II. 6.
70% full-size.

1478: 12 Marzo

Marchio Mantue &c.
Ducalis locumtenens &c.

Illustris consors nra carissima hauemo receuuta la vostra responsiua de una altra nostra circa el facto de Marsilio ala qual non acade altra zesposta sino che nuj habiamo desiderata la conclusa e altro non ce occor(re) afare . .
Vltimus vi mandomo alligata una lra del Poze de S. Lucio nela qual domanda certa tratta potuta essere cum la M^ta de mtrate e p non essere piu lunga ne pare se gli possi — compiacere . Etiam vi mandiamo una altra lra de hieronymo de alegrandi nela qual se dole de .d. fac^o da la sassetta come vederete, ne pareria douesti fare dire adesso .d. [illegible] chel voglia remanire contento del douere, e non fare resistentia ch la ragione [illegible] altra loro . che nol facendo se partiria dal honesto

Samole xij. marzj 1478.

1478: 6: Marzo

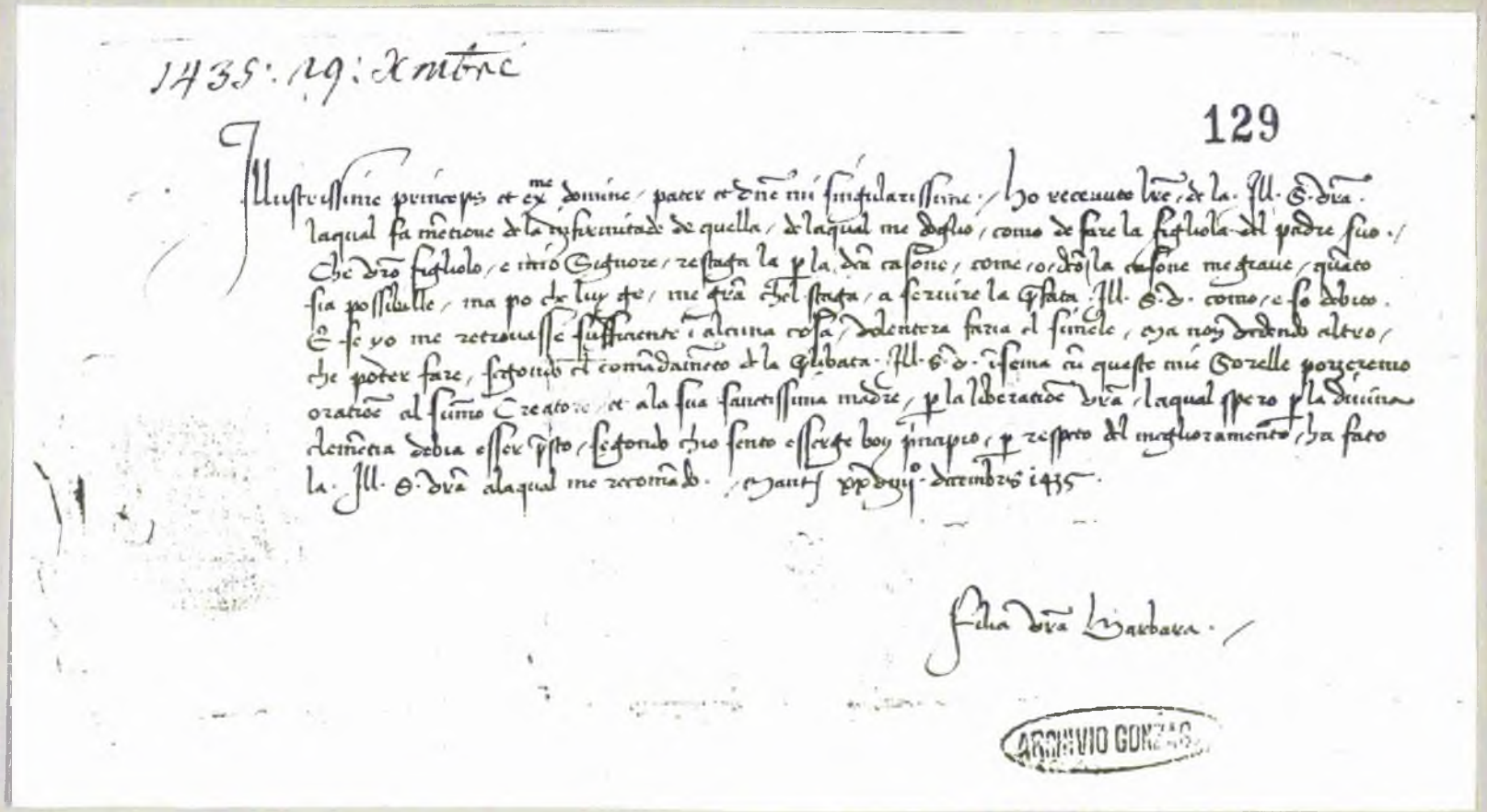
Marchio Mantue &c.
Ducalis locumtenens &c.

Illustris consors nostra carissima per la lra vostra ne hauete facto tutto de bona voglia intendendo p quella il meglioramento de la panla nra, del quale hauemo receuuto tanto piacere q^to dire se possa ringratiandone infinitamte el nro Signor dio nela cui clemtia speramo ch facto sino adesso reussire bene Et hauerem molto caro ne teniati adusati de luccessi vostri Vi mandiamo inclusa una amij dizertiua da Matheo da Volterra La qual etiam mostrarete a federico et a mrs fiam per cio la remandarete . nuj [illegible] se sentiamo bene so la usanza nra

Samole vj. marzj 1478.

ARCHIVIO GONZAGA

Fig.40.
Autograph Letters of Lodovico II Gonzaga;
12 March, 1478 and 6 March, 1478.
A.S.M.A.G.BUSTA.2103, F.II.6.
70% full-size.



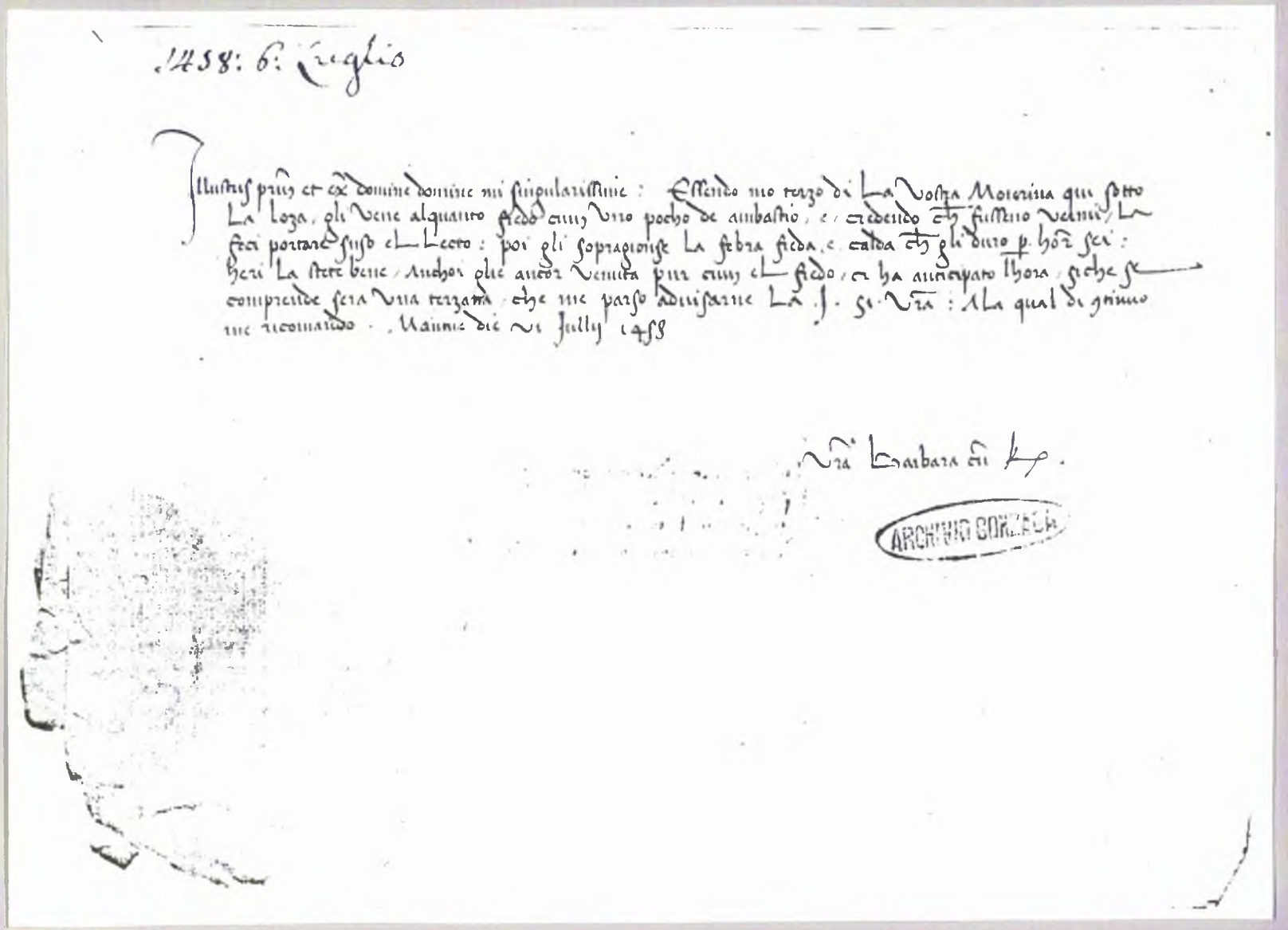
1435: 29: Xmbre

129

Illustrissime princeps et ex.me domine, pater et dne mi singularissime. Ho vecenuto lre de la. Sll. S. dña. laqual fa mentione de la infermitade de quella, de laqual me dolso, como de fare la fegliola del padre suo. Che dio fegliolo, e mio Segnore, restagna la p la dña casone, come, o, dio la casone me grave, quato sia possibille, ma po che luy se, me pia che stagna, a seruire la Sstata Sll. S. d. como, e so debito. E se yo me retenesse sufficiente, alcuna cosa, dolentera faria el simele, ma non sendo altro, che poter fare, sefondo el comandamento de la Sstata Sll. S. d. isema in queste mie orazione al Sumo Creatore, et ala sua sanctissima madre, p la liberatione dña, laqual spero p la divina clemencia debia esser fato, sefondo mio senso essendo boy principio, p respeto del meglioramento, ha faro la. Sll. S. dña alaqual me recomando. Mantue xxviiij decembris 1435.

Filia dña Barbara.

Fig.41.
Autograph Letter of Barbara of Brandenburg;
29 December, 1435.A.S.M.A.G.BUSTA.2094,F.II.6.
c.129.Full-size.



1458: 6: Luglio

Illustris prin et ex domine domine mi singularissime : Essendo mio nepzo di La Vostra Maestà qui sotto La loza, gli venne alquanto freddo cum uno pocho de ambascio, e credendo eh fussemo venuti La feci portare suso el Lecto : poi gli sopragionse La febra fredda, e calda eh gli duro p. hor sei : heri La stete bene, Anchor che anchor venuta pur cum el freddo, e ha anticipato lhora, perche se comprende sera una terzana : che me parso adviserne La S. Vra : La qual di gnmo me recomando . Mantue die vi Jully 1458

Vra Barbara de Bp.

ARCHIVIO GONZAGA

Fig.42.
Autograph Letter of Barbara of Brandenburg;
6 July,1458.A.S.M.A.G.BUSTA.2095,F.II.6.
Full-size.

1458: 24: Luglio

Illustre principe et ex.te dne dne mi sing.me

1461: 26: Maij — Mantova

Illustre princ.e et ex.te dne dne mi singularissime

1471 A Luglio

Illustre princ.e et ex.te domine domine mi singularissime

1477 – 8. Agosto

Illustris princ.e et ex.te dne dne mi singularissime

1494. 25 Marzo

306

Ill^ma Domina Consors Amant^ma bn^a altro de nouo no accada degno de auiso: pur accadendo de mandare miquello parer lo exhibitor de questa: no hauemo uoluto che uenghi senza nr^e lre, p lequale sentir certificata dil no bn stare, como pil simile stiamo desiderosi intender de uoy:

1494 - 18. Luglio

354

Ill^ma domina Consors Amant^ma Credemo che de le cose de Genoa de le progressione de larmata, et de la uenuta de le Regine francese: per la uenuta dil Barozzo de Hieronymo Stronga uoi ne debiate hauere hauuto assai particular notitia: pur acioche pur ultra intendiate ue mandamo qui inclusa una lra de alcuni nostri

1495 17. Giug^o

435

Ill^ma Consors nra Amant^ma hauemo receuuto mi stiemi cu la lra de xv p^o del p^te, la lra del m^co vicedomino da ferrara: allaquale no facimo altra responsa: se no che ne comendiamo et congratiamo del tutto: et como desiderosi sentire la bona comale sentia de v. s. la pregamo no gli uogly essere graue de passo in passo dare notitia de li successi suoi: Noi credemo stare domane fermi qua p finire de unire questo exercito, et uenire col nome de dio ne leuaremo alla uolta de Cremona: dett^a sera, se fara giornata determinatiue, doquesto succedera alla giornata ne certificamo subito la s. v. que bn valeat. Date in castris felicibus Ill^mi de venetiarum prope Senigu die xvij. Junij 1495

Comes Franciscus Marchio Mantue &c

Fig.44.
Autograph Letters of Francesco II Gonzaga;
25 March, 1494; 18 July, 1494 and 17 June, 1495.
A.S.M.A.G.BUSTE.2109, 2109 and 2110 (all F.II.6.)
cc.306, 354 and 435. 70% full-size.

65

1496. primo Magio

Ill.ma Conivnx mia Amantissima. El mio giorno receuessimo due bolgette in una tracte cu le ure de xij et xv dal ponte: lequale me sonno state gratissime per hauer hauuto notitia de la tua bona valetudine, et de la mia figliolina Comendandome et laudandote de tutte le ure operatione: de lequale restamo summamente satisfacti: Non accendal ad molte parte replica

124

1496. primo de Luglio

Ill.ma Conivnx mia Amantissima. Essendo usciti hoy fora li inimici, p.tra Sachomana cu la scorta, ancora ch fosse mita dentro dal campo, Sig.re Sp.mi soli li mei caualli ligeri: liquali gli sono andati cu tale ordine, et animo: ch gli hanno tolto circa. 60. fra caualli et muli: cu gran.ma vergogna loro.

131

1496. 8. Luglio

Ill.ma Conivnx mia Amantissima. Essendose iusto hogi in su le xxiij hore cu un gran numero de gente usciti fora di la Terra: et diuisase alla uolta de la collina verso la riua candida: dubitando, nó pigliassero la uolta de Genoua, et se ne andassero ó dio: incontinenti se armassemo: et ó alcuni pochi de li mei caualli ligieri, currendo ne mettessimo in uia: cu ordine et li altri ne douessero seguitare: Dove subito giunti, ordinata prima la gente como conueneua: animosamente gli dessimo dentro ó li mei caualli ligieri, et ó li Gratieri de Leuante: et li hauemo rotti et fracassati: che de cento cinquanta homini darme cu erano, de la compagnia del s. Paulo Citello, cacciamo, ne siamo stati fra morti et presi. 60. circa. et molti caualli ligieri: senza dubio morto apena uno de li mei: Et quelli sonno scampati, le hanno abandonati: Altri mei caualli de sachomani, che sonno stati guadagnati: et circa xx. boui de le loro dueglianze: Fra li morti, secondo se intende, glie un figliolo de ms Hyppolito, chiamato Turino: Et ms organte dallione: se

Fig.45.
Autograph Letters of Francesco II Gonzaga;
1 May, 1 and 8 July, 1496. A.S.M.A.G. BUSTA. 2111,
F.II.6. cc.65, 124 and 131. 70% full-size.

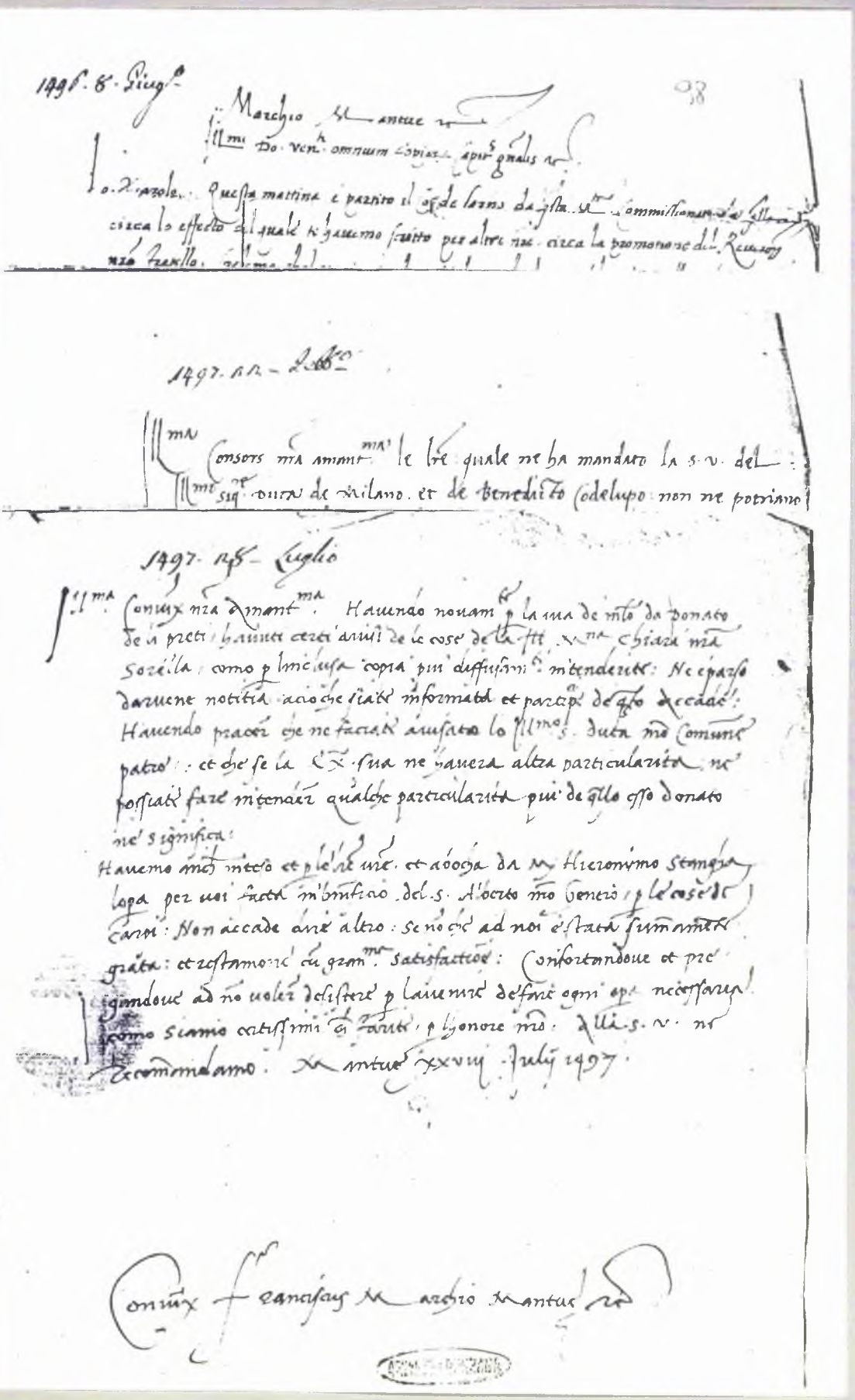


Fig.46.
Autograph Letters of Francesco II Gonzaga;
8 June,1496;22 February and 28 July,1497.
A.S.M.A.G.BUSTE.2111 and 2112 (all F.II.6.)
c.98 (1st item). 70% full-size.

1500. 15. 9bre Ferrara

Ill. et Ex. dna Consors mia Amatissima. Hauemo receuuto insieme cum una de la s. v. le lre de Trento et Bologna; quale epsa scriue mandarce: et hauemole hauute gratissime per li

1501. 30. genaio Mantoua.

Illma dna consors mia matiss: Lo mantro ch hebbe la s. v. in uia dil Sr. don Alfonso, et poi alla ripa, dil Sr. v. patre cu li honori, et careze facteli, et smorzemoli racconamenti hauuti

1503: 25: 7bre Roma

Illma dna consors mia matiss: heri doppo disnare andassimo fora al campo ad ordinare ch le armature uenute di lumbardia se distribuissero comodamte alli suizari, et a disponere molte altre cose necessarie alla impresa. et apresso a cominciare alli cath

1504: 20: Giugno Ferrara

Illma mia Consorte, heri gionsi q circa le 15. hore, et subito andai al Sigr mio Patre: quale trouai essere in assai boni termini: et heri sera circa le 23. hore gli tornai, et simili trouai, et sua Sigria stava: et questa matina et lo ritrouato in optimi termini, modo chio iudicio no sauera male p la Dio gratia: et continuando in migliorare sua Exp. come spero q sa fato, et come spo et sua Sigria fara, fra dui, on tri giorni me partiro de q. p uenirmene a casa: et a La Sigria v ra me racomando: Ferraria. xx. Junij. 1504.

Fig.47.
Autograph Letters of Francesco II Gonzaga; 15 November, 1500; 30 January, 1502; 25 September, 1503 and 20 June, 1504. A.S.M.A.G. BUSTE. 2114, 2115 and 2116 (all F.II.6.). 70% full-size.

1490 - 21. gbre

373

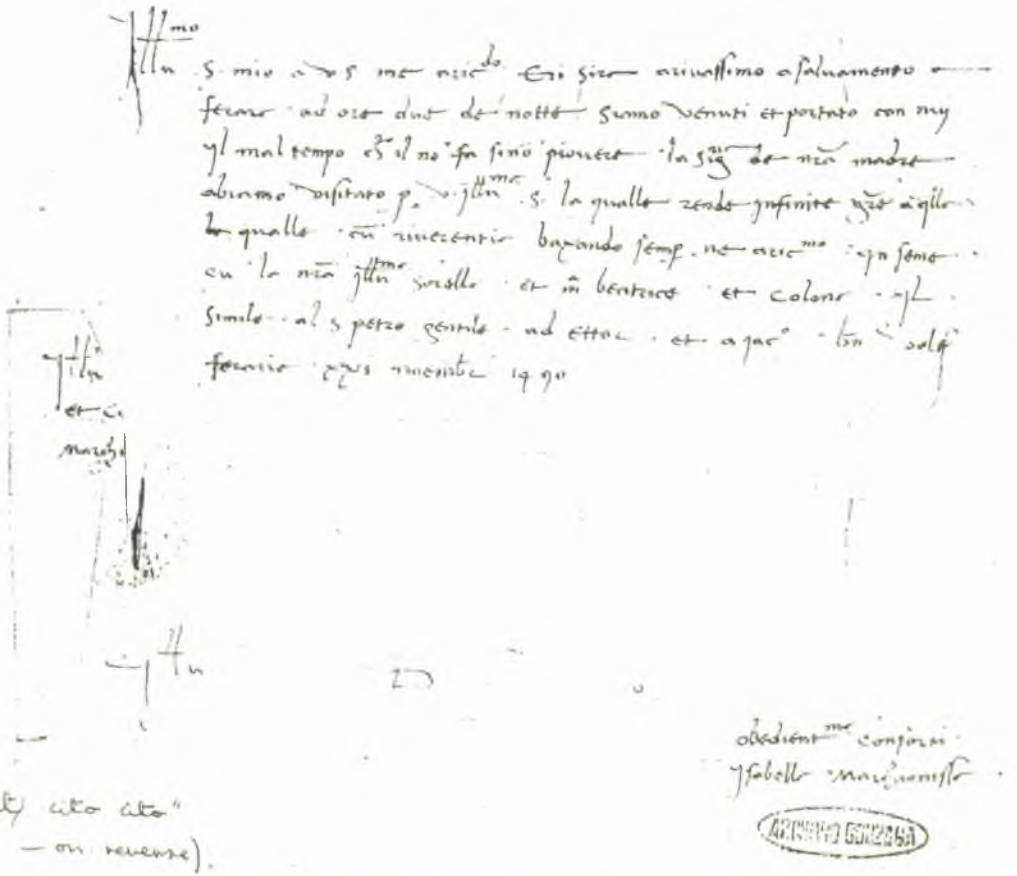


Fig.48.
Autograph Letter of Isabella d'Este;
21 November,1490.A.S.M.A.G.BUSTA.2106,
F.II.6. c.373.70% Full-size.

354

1490. 27. Agto

Illmo .s. mio. a questa sera circa le 23 hore è gionto quello Secretario de la sctā Sig.ria che doueua uenire & è allogiato incasa del sp. Antonello da salerno. Io ho mandato a uisitare .. Sua. offerte. & commesso ch̄ nō. gli sia lassato mancare

83

1491. 3. Gen.o

Illmo .s. mio. hauendo io inteso che hieronymo Stanoha hauea facto portare da Genua de' comissione de la ex.a v. una Alberma: per el bisogno ch̄ ne ho in questo viagio presi securta de' seruirsi chel me' .. Sua. hauendome che la .s. v. non lo hauesse .. ad hauere

1491. 4. Ottob.e

Illmo Sig.or mio. Hauendo io inteso / piu di fiamma / como p. la Sra mia scrissi a La ex.a v. Eh Isti se impazaua de far dar / alle Beneficio de s.ta Maria de carmade al Fadino suo / Bench̄ io hauessi desyderio / cu bona complacentia de la Illma .s. v. di farme prouedere al mio Capellano / p. la fidele & bona seruitu sua / nodimeno io ge hebbi quelle rispecto de non impazarmene / como / e / debito hauer ad uno Sig.or suo / Doppoi intendendo Eh ura ex.a no hauea pho facta ferma resolutione circha cio / ge scripsi la Sra mia / a la quale ella responde molto amoreuolmēte remettendome ésta cosa / arbitrio mio / dal Eh ge ne referisco infinite orarie / Ma informandome puoi de la cosa ho ritrouato Ehl no si e / hauuto da altri rispecto ne a La ex.a v. ne a me / Eh lo Vicario gya del Vescouato hau circato secrete de farsi renuntiar a lui esso beneficio a Mr Lodouico da Crema / alquale ho hozi facto intender / Eh sapendo / como el sapeua / Eh v. ex.a / o. me se ne impazaueno Eh l cio douesse psummer de far tal atto senza saputa de v. ex.a & lo feci exhortar a desistere / e / reuocar el messo suo a Roma / & Ehl no facessi piu spesa / Eh ella Eh lhaueria facta se gli pagaria / offerendome fauorirlo puoi / i altra cosa / Eh mi pareua / Eh li mei Capellani andassero nanti a lui ad esser prouisti / el sta duro & no monstra uolersi ritrahere da la impresa p. mia contemplatione / Ma morendo el pre io faro inuestir el mio Capellano / e / darli la tenuta del bnficio / poreria puoi La ex.a v. far intender al Vicario p.to Eh no offendo mantuano / ne piu benmerito chel sia de ésta patria / chel ge debbe bastar / oltra el bnficio Eh lhaue a casa sua esser ge prouisto a Mantua de uno canonicato bono / & cusi el mio Capellano restaria sanissatto & prouisto de bnficio cu mio no puoco contento / a la gra de La ex.a v. me Raccomando ex. palatio portus .iij. octobris . 1491 .

Fig.49.
Autograph Letters of Isabella d'Este;
27 August, 1490; 3 January and 4 October, 1491.
A.S.M.A.G.BUSTE.2106 and 2107 (both F.II.6.).
cc.354, 83 and 195. 70% full-size.

Fig.50.
Autograph Letters of Isabella d'Este;
28 January,1492;29 September and 1 October,1493.
A.S.M.A.G.BUSTA.2108,F.II.6. cc.119,470 and 471.
70% full-size.

1492. 28. Genº

119

Illmo. s. mio. essendo la ex. v. a Ferrara io hebbe hrē dal vicario de Marcharia per le quale me auisaua ch le aque per la cresciuta de olio haueano tirato in le fosse l. l. rocha certo pzo de terraglio: & minaciaua ruina al

1493. 29. 8brē

170

Illmo Sr mio: Essendo Marchesino hozi mto Aluise de La Torre subcreto de le bollette: mē parso darne aviso ad .s. ex^tia recomandola de cuore ch la uogli essere contenta p amore mio dare questo officio ad Lodouico Sodenito barba de Benedetto: homo da bene honorevole' et de ecco materea: ch p una ozaria nō me poteria fare la magiore al presente: Recommandomi ala .s. vr bona gratia

xx omy xxviiij. Septembre 1493.

1493. 1. 9brē

171

Illmo. s. mio. La .s. v. non poteua fare meglore electione de uno Ambassatore per mandarme la Trutta, quāto ha facto del famosissimo Matello: per hauerme la pnha sua aduncha grandissimo piacere. Io lho raccolto da ambassatore facendoli dare el scanno & inuitandolo a referirmi quāto v. s. gli hauea commesso, Ma nō me ha mai saputo dire altro se nō el Sr se recomanda a v. s. et amore el Brogiolo. Io li remando a quella, & a lui me remetto circa quāto gli ho dicto. Ringratiandola summamente de la Trutta, quale gustero per amore de v. s. a la qual bona gra me racomando semp. Mantue primo octe 1493.

Vra Isabella de Rmz.

1494 8 Jen.

154

Ill.mo re S.or mio. Hozi ali hore tre de nocte me reffeci el Castellano q
Come vn famiglio de Capo bianco: hoctoiano al palaco de S.to Cecilio
ha uccaso vna figliola del dicto Capo bianco: essen.o lui fora
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

1494. 3. 7bre

245

Ill.mo S.r mio. Ho receuuto la lra de la Ex.a v. insieme cū la allegata
de Antonio trumpdo: et inteso la contenentia dessa: duo dio fuso
scriuere al p.to Antonio nel modo et mi scrisse la v. S.ria: significan-
doli come io fui a Parma ausitare lo Ill.mo S.r Lodouico: et m.a
sua Consorte: ma di io non uite se non alcuni balisteri quali non
erano troppo bene in orame: Et di de le gentedarme non me

1495 - 30 Lugl.o

90

Ill.mo S.r mio: Mando ala Ex.tia V. per il presente Cauallaro uno Cistello
de persici rendome certa: che l'habia Carestia de fructi in Campo: La
li gnodera per amor mio se seranno conseruati. hauendo aviso di
questa sera se debbe retrouare a Burgoforte el S.r don Alphonso mio
fratello cū la Zebre doppia cenana gli uado ad incontrarlo per
ussitarlo. domane ritornaro qua. Et in gra de S.ria Ex.a me rac.do.
Mantuę pen.ma Julij 1495.

E. de V.

Consors Isabella.

ARCHIVIO GONZAGA

Fig.51.
Autograph Letters of Isabella d'Este;
8 January and 3 September, 1494; 30 July, 1495.
A.S.M.A.G.BUSTE.2109 and 2110 (both F.II.6.).
cc.154, 245 and 90. 70% full-size.

1496 19 Marzo 220.

[illegible] da Trento dove il [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

1497. 8. Giugno

Illmo. S. mio. La ex. v. debe hauere intexo como á
corte è morto de peste uno che uiueua da Pisa: doppo
lui è morta la sorella che lhaueua governato, et ama-

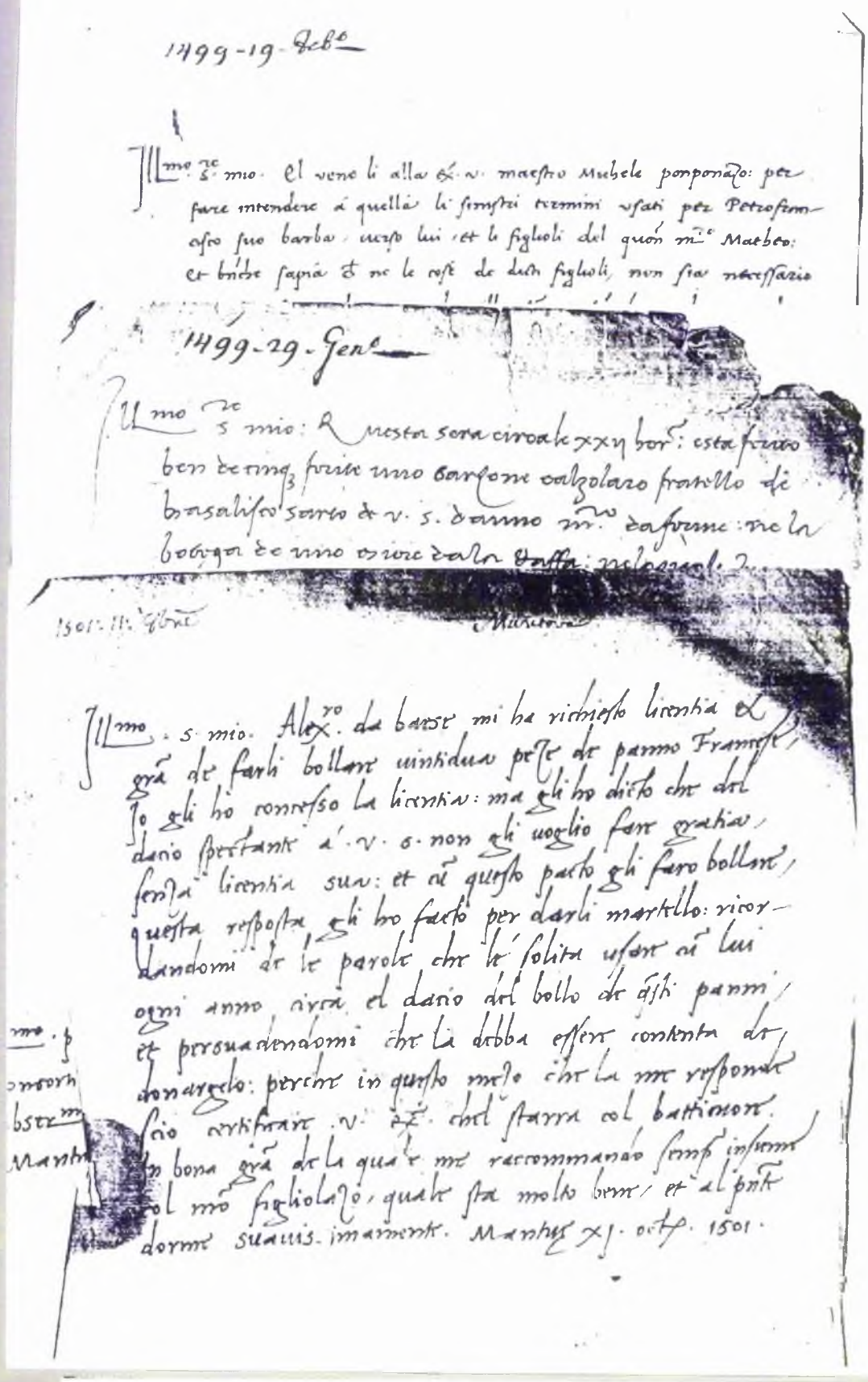
1498. 10. Lug.o

Illmo S. mio. Questa mattina é arrivato uno
cavallaro da Pisa con una brá del Mar.o
mio. Antonio di ostibili alla ex.a v. quale p
esser stracho el cavallaro me parse mandar
her uno di mei alla p.ta v. ex.a alla bona

1498. 13. Lug.o

Illmo Se
S. mio. Questa matina è sta ritrouato nel uiuale dil Negro
apresso la porta di s.to Zorzo uno corpo morto spogliato et senza
testa: ne indicio ne segno alcuno si puo hauere, ne di sua
il morto, ne chi possi essere il malfactore, alcuni dicono che
per essere sta portata uia la testa potria essere qualche forestiere
che hauesse taglia, altri persona che il capo li sia sta leuato
et similmente li parmi acio che el no sia cognosciuto, ma
al iudicio del Notaro dil pota che lha uisto el no puo essere
persona de conto, per hauere le mane callose et la camisa
Illmo p
bon.a
no molto sutile: et no si sapere chi el sia, li preti recusano
uolerlo in sacrato, et no potere acceptare se no quelli che sciano
che uiueno da catholici christiani, et dubito che al fine sera
[redacted] ulto li ouer stato morto qualche fosso. Io sono stata
[redacted] nto tarda a darne auiso ala s. v. solamete expectando
[redacted] intendere qualche cosa piu certa, ma mente altro se ne puo
[redacted] pere: il caso é strano et da despiacere ad genuino, et quando
il malfactore si scoprisse da essere punito senza remissione
quando ala ex.tia v. parà, che io habia a farli piu una prouisione.
che imaltra quella comandi: et io in sua bona gra me rac-
[redacted] mando. xiij. July 1498.

Fig.53.
Autograph Letters of Isabella d'Este;
8 June, 1497; 10 and 13 July, 1498. A.S.M.A.G.
BUSTA.2112, F.II.6. 70% full-size.



1499-19-Febo

Illmo &c. s. mio. El vene lì alla Ex. v. maestro Michele ponponazo: per fare intendere a quella li simplici termini usati per Petrosem- oso suo barba verso lui, et li figlioli del quon mo Matheo: et benche sapia el ne le cose de dicti figlioli non sia necessario

1499-29-Gen.

Illmo &c s. mio: Questa sera circa le xxij hor: este venuto ben de trenta fanti uno barcone cavalaro fratello de Rosalisa sorella de v. s. danno m. Zaffarino: ne la botega de uno orese dalla Zuffa: [illegible]

1501. 11. Octob.

Illmo s. mio. Alex. da Basse mi ha richiesto licentia de grà de farli bollare uintidue pecie de panno Franzese, Io gli ho concesso la licentia: ma gli ho detto che del dacio spettante a. v. s. non gli voglio fare gratia, senza licentia sua: et cum questo patto gli faro bollare, questa resposta gli ho facto per darli martello: ricordandomi de le parole che le solita usare cum lui ogni anno circa el dacio del bollo de dicti panni, et persuadendomi che la debba esser contenta de, donargelo: perche in questo modo che la me responde cio certificare v. Ex. che starra col battimonio in bona grà de la quale me recommando semp insieme col mio figliolazo, quale sta molto bene, et al pnte dorme suauis. imamente. Mantue xj. octo. 1501.

Fig.54.
Autograph Letters of Isabella d'Este;
19 February and 29 January, 1499; 11 October, 1501.
A.S.M.A.G.BUSTE.2113 and 2114 (both F.II.6.).
70% full-size.

1501. 18. 9bre

Mantova

Ill.mo Sr mio, Giontomi questa matina da Ferrara dui Cisti de pesce di mare une derectuo ala Ex.a V. laltro anne quali mi manda il Sr mio patre, inuio ad quella per el presente messo il suo, al cabona gratia de la quale sempre mi racomando. M.a tua, Isabella Marchesa Mantue

1502. 27. genn.o

Revere

Ill.mo S. mio. Meglio consiliato el S. don Alphonso non é anchora gionto qua alle tredice hore, al botto che le quale io mi levio de letto per acingirmi ad andare in naue: et spero giongere a bonhora a Ferrara,

1502: 12: 9bre

Mant.a

Ill.mo S. mio. Bartholomeo Donesmondo rasonatto de V. Ex.a é gia piu di agravato di febre, et dubitassi de la morte sua; Petromarchre da Gazolo quale ha exercitato molti offitij, et resonj bono conto et ritrouato in tutti homo sufficiente et interro per quto ho informatione da molti et max.e da li rasonatti proprij che lo desiderano per compagno per bnfitio de V. S. me ha pregato lo raccommandi a quella ogni uolta chel loco de Barthro vachi per la morte suo. Io per li dicti respecti mouendomi la supplico se digni Ill.mo prouederli expectatiua del offitio: et conferirgelo accadendo dño: cosa vacantia, ch Ihauero de grā da quella. alla quale mro Como raccommādo semp. Mantue xij 7bre. M.D.II.

Fig.55.
Autograph Letters of Isabella d'Este;
18 November, 1501; 27 January and 12 September, 1502.
A.S.M.A.G.BUSTE.2114 and 2115 (both F.II.6.).
70% full-size.

1503: 28 8bre

Mantova

Ill^mo re
s mio, doppo la giunta de ambroso canallino quà, ho scripto alla
Ex. v. cinq lettere de xj xvij xvij, xviij, et xx xxiij del pnte
parte responsiue, a le sue portate per el dicto ambroso, et a due
de xj et v. fuit di questo, hauute per la via de le poste
di Parma, ...

1504: 21: 9bre

Mant^a

Ill^mo re
sig. mio: Vno messo de la ill^ma Antonia da Gonzaga
e stato qui per dar la qui alligata alla Ex^a. v. qn quella
se li fusse retrouata; cu ordine che anche qn la no ui
fusse la lra fusse data a mè: cusi ho tuolta, et aperta
per vedere se la tractaua di cosa che io la potesse

1504. 20. apte

Mantova

Ill^mo et Ex^mo re s mio, Anchora che el nostro puttino
per la dio gratia stij assai bene, et se retroui mdo
di febre, benche heri immediate doppo el desnare
li sij venuta un pocho di nausea, et habbi vomitato
alquanto del cibo, nō pare perho ali medici che el sij
da mouere, anci concludeno totalmente che el reste,
Io deliberata in questo caso, como la Ex. v. per unalt^a
mia hauera inteso, nō mi scostaro punctο da li loro
consilij, ho statuito firmamente di lassarlo, et veni-
mene senza lui, volendo in anci priuarlo di questo
piacere, che cum esso, essendo causa di maiore suo
dispiacere, et nostro notabilissō scontento, Assicuro
bene la Ex. v. di lassarli tal custodia alla
partita mia, che per quello tempo che staremo fuora,
haueremo a reuenire cum lo animo in sebosso,
Et in bona gratia di quella semp mi racc^do,
Mant^a xx Aprilis xx 1504.

Fig.56.
Autograph Letters of Isabella d'Este;
28 October, 1503; 21 November and 20 April, 1504.
A.S.M.A.G.BUSTE.2115 and 2116 (both F.II.6.).
70% full-size.

1506: 19: Mzo

Firenze

Illme . s. mio. Per far' parte a v. ex. del parto mi ha facto ogni ex.sa sig.ria mandoli per capretti lette quaranta fuchi de p.bianno, quali gradira

1506: 14: giugno

Sacchetta

Illmo re s. mio. el Cusatro mi ha rechiesto da parte di la s. v. uno paro di maniche di brochado per mandare a donare alla moglie del m.co Thodesco

1506. 14. Xbre

Mantova

Illmo . s. mio. Sabato seguendo chio scrissi a v. ex. feci venire in burchietto Federico et in compagnia sua m.ro. Joanantonio: Giunsero alle undicisette hore ~~[illegible]~~ entrata. prima in carretta. Federico non

1506. 5: 8bre

Mantova

Illmo s. mio quella offesa et toccata mi era et cusarmo de hauer tato stordito a scriuer de mia mano a v.s. p piu mia confusione Ho estata la prima et excusarsi. amisi et commessi esser scusata, assuadendomi v. s. esser i tate occupatione et affare credo possi hauer tepo de manchare ma dapoi et se e dignata excusarsi se dignara anchora pdonarmi Io mi ho scrito de la qual tardita ne e stata causa el mal de federico nō uolendo io et i lettere de mia mano vi fusse cose et hauesse a dire affanno a v.s. Sera et grā de de due e sono piu presto satisfare al debito el capello me scrive v.s. el farō fare ch'el sia grato et sia el megliō che sia possibele se

Fig.57.
Autograph Letters of Isabella d'Este;
19 March, 14 June, 14 September and 5 October, 1506.
A.S.M.A.G.BUSTA.2116, F.II.6. 70% full-size.